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ABSTRACT

"Rural Sociology: A Field of Basic and Applied Research" was the theme of the 1977 annual meeting. Participants at the convention heard 50 reports in 14 sessions, as well as five special panels and two special sessions. Most of the papers, research reports and essays presented in the sessions are included in this document and serve as the meeting proceedings. The 44 papers are organized into twelve sections. Section One on population has three papers; Section Two, dealing with quality of life, contains four papers. The third section has two papers on occupations and in the fourth section are seven papers on aspects of education in the rural South. In Section Five are four papers regarding status attainment research; two papers on mental health are in Section Six. Section Seven contains four papers on policy research. "Rural Development and Social Change" is the title of Section Eight which contains six papers. The ninth section has three papers on evaluation of rural development programs and the tenth section has three on environment and recreation. Three papers in Section Eleven treat rural health care services. The "Pot Pourri" section has three papers bearing the titles of "Attitudes Toward Local Police: A New Look at the Racial Variable"; "Misinformation: A Basic Problem for Community Correction Agencies"; and "Comparative Organizational Properties and Interdependence in Interorganizational Dyads". Appendices list meeting participants and the 1977 program of the Rural Sociology Section. (DS)

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE SOUTH : 1977

PROCEEDINGS

RURAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists
(SAAS)

Atlanta, Georgia

February 6-9, 1977

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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We are deeply saddened to
receive the news of untimely death
of a most respected colleague, dedicated
Rural Sociologist, and past chairman
of the Rural Sociology Section, SAAS.
Professor Virlyn A. Boyd.

--Editor

FOREWARD

Rural Sociology in the South: 1977 is a collection of papers, research reports, and essays presented at the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists. This compilation of papers is done with the submitted manuscripts only, and it serves as the proceedings of the 1977 meetings of the Rural Sociology Section held in February 6-9, in Atlanta, Georgia. These annual meetings are organized explicitly to provide scope for reporting, dissemination, and practice of researches concerning Sociology of Rural Life in the Southern Region. Although the reports included in this volume reflect the wide varieties of research and extension interests, these do neither document all of the varied types of Rural Sociological researches being conducted in the South nor exhaust the list of research interests and activities reported in the meetings.

The theme of this year's Rural Sociology program was Rural Sociology: A Field of Basic and Applied Research. In addition to 50 submitted reports in 14 sessions, five special panels and two special sessions were presented. The panels and organizers were "Forecasting Education Needs for Rural Development," "Rural Vocational Education Needs Projection Through Citizens Participation," Gerald Wheelock, Alabama A & M University; "Rural Land Reform," Harsha N. Mookherjee, Tennessee Technological University; "Delivery of Rural Health Care Services," R. David Mustian, North Carolina State University; and "Pros and Cons of the Formal Organization of the Rural Sociology Section," H. Max Miller, University of Georgia and Virginia P. Steelman, Louisiana State University. In special sessions, Frederick L. Bates of University of Georgia, and Kenneth P. Wilkinson of Pennsylvania State University presented elaborate discussions on "Folk Models and Scientific Models of Community and Their Relationship to Rural Development," and "Rural Sociology and the Rural Crisis: Contemporary Professional Issues," respectively.

This volume of the proceedings is made possible by authors furnishing copies of their papers. The only editorial restriction, a maximum of twelve pages per paper limit, was imposed. Some presented papers were not submitted to the Proceedings. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to reorganize the papers in twelve sections, which might fit into the theme of the program. However, a copy of the program is placed at the end of this compilation. Interested persons are requested to communicate directly with the authors for further information and/or obtaining copies of the papers.

The officers of the Rural Sociology Section wish to express their appreciation to the many sociologists and other social scientists who participated in the 1977 meetings by preparing and presenting papers, presiding at sessions, discussing papers, and serving as panel members. Appreciation is also expressed to the special sessions' speakers and the special panel organizers.

Special appreciation is extended to Lana Flatt, Cindy Kemp, Sudipta Roy, Ram H. Chaturvedi, and Elizabeth Mahaney for their assistance in preparing the program and in compiling the proceedings. A very special appreciation is extended to the Office of the Associate Vice-President for Research and Dean of Instructional Development, Tennessee Technological University for the financial support of the printing, compilation, binding and distribution of the Rural Sociology in the South, 1977. Appreciation

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Harsha N. Mookherjee
Secretary and Program Chairman
Rural Sociology Section
Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists.

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A. Participants, Rural Sociology Section
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ON THE VALIDITY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION MODEL

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On the Universal Validity of the Demographic Transition Model

The Demographic Transition Model was formulated as a model of population change. The model was useful as a mechnism to describe the secular sequence of changing death and birth rates over several hundred years in Western Europe. The transition model sought to explain complicated processes not easily explainable by singular variables (e.g., population density or growth of agricultural output). By considering a number of social and economic factors within the general framework of the transition model, proponents sought to explain the growth of population and the changing rates which occurred in loose conjunction with the industrial revolution.

The model of the demographic transition suggests that decreased fertility in modern industrial society is the result of environmental control over mortality giving way to improvements in transportation, communication, technology and medicine. The transition then, is based upon social, economic and, in some expositions, psychological factors affecting mortality and fertility rather than any particular environmental factors. Generally, this phenomenon is loosely documented in the experience of certain western nations during the course of economic and technological development. The mortality rate gradually declines over an extended period. As mortality declines significantly from the fertility level, a period of rapid growth or "explosion" follows. Over an extended period of adjustment to which western nations were generally treated, the fertility levels gradually adjust to a parallel decline. In the model, fertility declines lag somewhat behind the mortality decline as previously noted. The result of such lag is a rapid increase in population for a society experiencing transition.

Westoff (1960) notes the usefulness of the transition model as a classification scheme as well as a model of social change possessing some empirical validity. Westoff (1960:3) summarizes the theory as:

> "...moving from an approximate balance of high birth rates and high death rates, through a transitional stage during which death rates are reduced substantially but birth rates remain high, and presumably culminating in a new balance of low death rates accompanied by sharply reduced birth rates."

With a lag between the decline of death and birth rates where the mortality rates decline preceeds that of fertility (an example of Ogburn's cultural lag concept in action) the process of transition may be characterized by three stages:

I. high death rate, high birth rate (mortality dominant);
II. declining death rate, followed at an interval by high but declining birth rate (transition - high potential growth):
III. low death rate, low birth rate (fertility dominant).

The transition model describes what Cowgill (1949) calls the modern population cycle and observed population data seem to support it as the actual experience of certain European and American populations. The model is actually intended as a deductively derived explainor and predictor generalized from the historical pattern. The purpose, ostensibly, was to predict the experience of lesser developed nations as modernization was achieved. In this context, the transition model has been acclaimed as the modern population theory of the World War II era and the decade following.

Hernandez (1974: 107-108) states that the transition model is partially based upon the premise that a near-zero population growth condition is a socially desired goal of modern industrial populations.

Smaller family size has become a desired value of the modern family. Alternatively, and at a different level, the consequences of unbridled growth exert pressures to limit fertility at the population level. However, the possession of a value for smaller family size, especially dependent upon socio-economic factors, is seen by some demographers as the causal force in lowering fertility.

The Swedish data in Table 1 lend support to the model as descriptive of the course of events in at least one European nation. The Swedish data, among the longest data series available, indicate a consistently lower death rate declining earlier and more quickly than the birth rate.

- Table 1 about here. -

In the last data series presented, both the birth and death rates are low and are more parallel to one another than at any other time. But the decline in mortality clearly seems to be under way by the time represented by the first data series shown.

It is the case, however, that not all European data fit the model so well. In France, for instance, (see Table 2) the decline in fertility was simultaneous with that of mortality. In both instances, declines somewhat preceded the rather limited and slow industrialization of that country (Teitelbaum, 1975).

- Table 2 about here. -

Since the 1950's the transition model has been questioned as to its accuracy owing to inconsistent population growth rates observed for both highly and lesser developed nations. For example, the "baby boom" in post-war developed nations appears anomolous to the predictions of the transition model (Robinson, 1969). However, in the earliest statement of the transition model, Thompson (1929) notes that the rates would fluctuate in the final stage of the model. In later statements Thompson (1946) and Notestein (1950) both suggest that the rational control of fertility in the final stage of the model allows for fertility as a volatile variable given that fertility rates could either rise, stablize, or decline. The post-war "baby boom" experienced in developed nations, then, was not contrary evidence but rather cautionary proof of the potential for growth in the final stage of the model.

A partial explanation for the lack of explanatory power of the transition model appears to be a lack of rigorous formulation. The model is based upon one view of the historical experience in Europe and overseas extensions thereof. Tabbarah (1971: 257) points to two tests of the validity of the model:

1. Whether the model was the characteristic pattern for developed Western European nations; and
2. Whether the experience of those nations is applicable to currently developing nations.

As Tabbarah (1971), Teitelbaum (1975), and Wrong (1961) note the model may be faulted on both points. The French experience (van de Walle and Knodel, 1967) and a rise in the fertility rate in England prior to a declining mortality rate (Wrigley, 1969) are two examples of the model's failure to fit the European experience. The precipitous decline of the death rate in economically developing third world nations (Robinson, 1969) is only one indication of a difference between these two distinctive sets of experiences. Nevertheless, Tabbarah and Teitelbaum observe that the model lies behind every set of "confident" population forecasts currently being made for developing nations whether such sentiments are explicitly noted or note.

The utility of the model is particularly questionable owing to a failure to indicate plausible causes of fertility decline and a failure to allow for predictive precision regarding the onset of fertility decline. Writers, such as Hawley (1973), who do address such causes and timing note that these factors are dependent upon societal change and a subsequent impingement upon couples in the period of fecundity. Those interested in population projections must look at the likelihood that societal change such as increasing personal aspirations, greater popular participation in political life, and an increase in individual self importance are plausible variables affecting fertility decline. Of course, such changes in the social temperament are predicated on assumptions based on western developmental patterns even while many currently developing nations espouse anti-western ideologies. The applicability of these criteria may be as questionable as is the model itself. Population projectors may be well advised to generate several sets of assumptions and, in turn, to carry out projections to accomodate such differences as may arise.

Table 3 presents crude birth and death rates for Columbia and India which indicate the great disparity presently existing in the fertility and mortality rates for these two lesser developed countries. The data for India, which are available for a more extended period, more readily exemplify a declining mortality rate.

- Table 3 about here. -

Although neither country exhibits any tendency to lower its birth rate at present, the two nations do experience a somewhat different developmental environment than experienced by some nations at the time of the European transition. In addition Columbia and India are themselves experiencing dissimilar developmental environments. For example, it has been noted that Columbia and India differ environmentally with respect to 1) life expectancy at age zero 2) dietary energy supplies and 3) per capita gross national product (World Population Data Sheet, 1975). The environmental differences observed for the data in Table 4 lend some credence to the position that differential developmental environments not only pose problems of interest to the demographic forecaster but also problems of great challenge to policy makers.

-- Table 4 about here. -

Demographers such as Goldscheider (1971) suggest that while the need exists to identify mechanisms causing fertility decline, there also exists a need to specify the historical period and to identify the circumstances of the environment in which a nation approaches its potential transition. Such environmental differences may be of even greater import for explaining possible causal factors affecting fertility decline among currently developing nations than would any possible differences predicated on sacred or profane philosophy.

The transition model arose partly in reaction to the Malthusian population model. It would seem that yet another model or at least a drastic reformulation of the transition model is now needed. One possible alternative is to recognize the transition model as an approximate representation of the European experience. At this time however, there exists a need to go beyond the circumstances of previous periods in which the transition occurred in order to better understand the possible transition of currently developing nations. The traditional transition model is, then, an ideal type and one not entirely applicable to the current demographic situation. The overall description and classification are most likely applicable. However, causal factors applicable to the contemporary experience are needed.

Conclusion: Population projection forecasters are left to play a game of educated guess work. Until such time as needed knowledge is accumulated, the transition model will continue to serve as an insufficient resource for population analysis and projection. While the demographic transition model may serve as a useful conceptual tool it would, nevertheless, appear that the model is far from a sufficient universal population explanator and predictor resource. Just as the demographic transition model arose as a reaction to the Malthusian theory of population growth and was deductively formulated to account for declining population rates observed for Europe and America, it is proposed that sufficient post-war anomalies have been observed to warrant a reformulation of the population theory.

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TABLE 1. Crude Population Rates Per 1,000 for Sweden, 1750-1970.

Time Period	Average Crude Birth Rate	Average Crude Death Rate
1750-1759	35.8	27.3
1800-1809	30.5	25.2
1850-1859	32.6	22.2
1900-1909	26.3	15.2
1950-1954	15.5	9.7
1970	13.7	9.9

Sources: Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1941. Also see Population Index. (July, 1965) and (July, 1975).

TABLE 2. Crude Population Rates Per 1,000 for France, 1808 to 1973.

Time Period	Average Crude Birth Rate	Average Crude Death Rate
1808-1812	31.4	25.7
1848-1852	27.0	23.5
1908-1912	19.4	18.5
1918-1922	17.3	20.0
1928-1932	17.7	16.4
1935-1939	14.9	15.6
1950-1954	19.4	12.6
1960-1964	18.0	11.2
1973	16.5	10.7

Sources: Borrie, W. D., The Growth and Control of World Population. London: Weiden, Feld, and Nicholson, 1970. Also see Population Index. (July, 1965) and (July, 1975).

TABLE 3. Crude Population Rates Per 1,000 for Columbia and India, 1916 to 1970.

Approximate Time Period	Columbia		India	
	Average Crude Birth Rate	Average Crude Death Rate	Average Crude Birth Rate	Average Crude Death Rate
About 1916	- -	- -	37	34
About 1926	- -	- -	33	25
About 1936	- -	- -	34	23
About 1950	36.9	13.4	40	27
About 1960	39.1	15.0	38	19
About 1970	44.0	10.0	41	18

Sources: Borrie, W. D., The Growth and Control of World Population. London: Weiden, Feld, and Nicholson, 1970. Also see Population Index. (July, 1965) and (July, 1975)

TABLE 4. Selected Development Environmental Differences.

	Columbia	India
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	61	50
Dietary Energy Supplies (in kilo calories per person per day)	2020	2070
Per Capita Gross National Product (in U.S. dollars)	400	110

Source: World Population Data Sheet, Population Reference Bureau Inc., Washington, D. C., 1975.

HOMEOWNERSHIP, MIGRATION AND SEGREGATION

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The research on which this paper is based was funded by the National Science Foundation, Research Applied to National Needs, under the project title "Population Redistribution: A Challenge for Policy and Planning" conducted at the University of Georgia.

For presentation at the Demography Session of Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists Annual Meeting in Atlanta, Georgia on February 6, 1977.

HOMEOWNERSHIP, MIGRATION AND SEGREGATION

Edward E. Cahill

Introduction

In the oft-cited "Theory of Migration" Lee suggests that the effects on migration of a given set of obstacles "depends also upon the impedimenta with which the migrant is encumbered," and that "there are many personal factors which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration." (Lee, 1967, p. 51) Homeownership may be such an impedimenta, for as Rossi showed in Why Families Move, "whether a family owns or rents its dwelling turned out to be an important datum throughout (the) report." (Rossi, 1955, p. 148) "The relationship between tenure and mobility potential....is very high. Few owners are mobile and few renters are stable." (*ibid*., p. 68-69)

Examining the problem of housing markets and public policy, Grigsby suggested that the housing market research was concentrated on families who buy to the neglect of families who remain where they are. "To the study made some years ago of why families move," he said, "there is now needed a sequel focusing on the other half of the question — why families don't move." (Grigsby, 1963, p. 213)

In her treatise on the urban neighborhood, Keller summarizes the problems of residential mobility:

> "Even if people move to areas inhabited by others much like themselves, moving provokes tension and anxiety. There is the problem of unfamiliarity with the physical setting. There are problems of not knowing how to behave in an environment where the old standards may not apply and new ones have not yet been established. There is also the initial feeling of loss of the community left behind and the loneliness in the midst of strangers." (Keller, 1968, p. 62)

I would argue, that the psychological and economic security of homeownership for blacks as well as whites forces greater rationalization of the mobility process and tends to minimize residential mobility except for those fearful of too rapid racial or ethnic change in neighborhoods.

This paper is a discussion of how public housing policy may have affected homeownership and migration rates and an analysis of mobility patterns of homeowners compared with renters for the 1965-1970 period. Some implications for policies of desegregation are discussed also.

Historical Trend in Housing Policy

The movement of blacks from rural to urban areas has been characterized by the desire to improve conditions in life. The penury of sharecropping and agricultural labor was a push toward the industrialization and economic opportunities presented by life in the city. Significant economic gains for blacks in the city did not begin to materialize until World War II. Blacks often found housing opportunities even more limited than their income opportunities. (Taeuber, 1975) Even those who had achieved reasonably high income levels found difficulty in breaking through the restrictive covenants forbidding them access to housing in middle income areas.

As early as 1917 in the case of Buchanan v. Worley, the Supreme Court had branded state and city imposed residential segregation as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. However, there was no formal prohibition of privately agreed upon restrictive covenants until 1948 when in the case of Shelly v. Kramer the Supreme Court took the position that "their (restrictive covenants) judicial enforcement by state courts makes a state government an accomplice in the denial of equal protection." (Bardolph, p. 281)

Notwithstanding the Supreme Court ruling, the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) continued until 1950 the famous Article 34 of its "Code of Ethnics" which stated:

> "A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in the neighborhood."

Although this article was eventually deleted from the code, the right "not to sell to minority groups was still regarded as inalienable in NAREB's 'Property Owners' Bill of Rights'" as late as 1963, for it affirmed the right of the property owner:

> "... to determine the acceptability and desirability of any prospective buyer or tenant of his property;
> ... to choose who, in his opinion, are congenial tenants in any property he owns—to maintain the stability and security of his income;
> (and) ... to enjoy the freedom to accept, reject, negotiate or not negotiate with others."
> (Leonard Freedman, Public Housing, The Politics of Poverty, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969, p. 135)

As noble in concept as the Federal Housing Administration may have been in protecting homeowners from losing their property during the Great Depression years, Myrdal pointed out more than 30 years ago that the official language of the agency reflected prejudicial and discriminatory behavior toward blacks. The agency permitted its valuators to prevent "the infiltration of business and industrial uses, lower class occupancy, and inharmonious racial groups." Further, valuators were to consider whether:

> "...effective restrictive covenants are recorded against the entire tract, since these provide the surest protection against undesirable encroachment and inharmonious use. To be most effective, deed restrictions should be imposed upon all land in the immediate environment of the subject location."
> (Myrdal, p. 349)

These restrictions included "prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended."

Not until 1962 with the issuance of Executive Order 11063 banning discrimination in "housing insured by agencies of the federal government and by older statutes and orders relating to public housing" did a national policy toward equal opportunity in housing began to emerge. Despite efforts to include fair housing opportunities in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it was only after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in 1968 that Congress finally affirmed the civil right to fair housing by declaring "it is a policy of the United States to provide within constitutional limitations for fair housing throughout the United States." (Civil Rights Act, 1968, Title VIII)

Faced with the lack of official recognition and sanction for open housing, it was no great surprise to learn as the Taeubers have adequately documented that residential segregation is the prevalent pattern in the United States and not the exception. (Taeuber and Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, 1965) Not only were blacks faced with the hostility of whites explicit in the restrictive covenants forbidding the sale of real property to them, but the additional difficulties in obtaining mortgages, even federally supported mortgages, for housing other than in or on the fringe areas of the ghettos restrained blacks from buying and moving into areas they might otherwise have chosen in accord with income levels.

Additionally, in the 1950's and 1960's, urban renewal programs were forcing the relocation of thousands of black families, usually of lower income status, within the confines of the large cities, thus aggravating already adverse social conditions, by inhibiting development of stable neighborhoods. Frazier capsulized this dilemma when he stated:

> "For a large proportion of Negro families in the city, the house is not a home but a place to cook and eat as individuals and sleep at night. When the weather permits it is generally a place from which one escapes. This is true of adults as well as children. This fact probably explains why so many of the conflicts in Negro

> families are set off by the irritation caused by overcrowding people, to come home after a day of frustration and fatigue, to dingy and unhealthy living quarters." (Frazier, 1957, p. 636)

Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 makes clear the legal prohibitions against discrimination in the sale or rental of property on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin, but inflationary costs in financing the purchase of homes have severely limited the ability of blacks and other minorities with low or inconsistent incomes to secure mortgages. Notwithstanding these difficulties, during the decade 1960-1970 there was an increase of about 1.7 million households with heads who were blacks. Of this increase about half (47 percent) of the household heads owned the units occupied. (Statistical Abstract, 1973) The efforts to increase homeownership during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations through subsidizing the purchase of homes at below market interest rates and through interest reduction on loans provided under Section 235 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 could have had little effect on changing patterns of residential segregation by the time of the 1970 Census. But where given the opportunities for fair housing, job and income equalization, and interest subsidization, blacks have responded by becoming homeowners, albeit slowly, and often only because both husband and wife are working or the head of the household is holding down two jobs.

Recent Trends in Migration and Homeownership

While not an absolute necessity for respectability, homeownership remains a highly prized goal for most Americans as indicated by the continuing increase in the proportions of owner-occupied units among blacks and whites. Homeownership tends to increase the stability of neighborhoods and communities because it fosters an attitude of caring for and protecting one's investment in real property. Regardless of income level or race, almost twice the proportion of family heads in owner-occupied units lived in the same house or unit in both 1965 and 1970 as did those living in renter-occupied units (Table 1). The stability associated with homeownership holds true for those living in metropolitan or nonmetropolitan areas, in central cities or rings.

Among blacks in renter-occupied units, the most stable are those with incomes above $15,000 living in central cities, but paradoxically the most mobile are those of the same income level living in the ring areas of central cities, reflecting, perhaps, the difficulties involved in blacks trying to rent apartments in the ring areas of central cities as well as the recency of such units becoming available on an open basis for all groups at the time of the census. By way of contrast, among residents of owner-occupied units the most mobile are those with incomes of $10,000 or more and the most stable (almost 80 percent) are those with incomes of less than $5,000 living in ring areas.

TABLE 1a

Mobility for Family Heads in Owner and Renter Occupied Units in Central Cities by Race and Income, Ages 14 and Over: United States, 1970.

				Mover From			
	TOTAL	Same House	Mover Within Central City	Balance of Same SMSA	Central City of Other SMSA	Balance of Other SMSA	Non-metro Area
OWNER							
TOTAL	7,219,217	70.2	19.1	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.5
Income Level							
<$5,000	892,855	79.7	13.5	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.8
$5,000-$9,999	2,042,355	68.9	20.9	3.0	2.5	1.7	2.8
$10,000-$14,999	2,239,920	67.0	21.0	3.3	3.1	2.6	2.9
$15,000 +	2,044,177	70.9	17.8	2.9	3.2	3.0	2.1
Negro	892,291	68.0	26.2	2.0	1.9	0.7	1.4
<$5,000	195,852	76.2	19.6	1.6	1.5	0.5	1.2
$5,000-$9,999	326,041	66.7	27.0	2.2	1.8	0.6	1.6
$10,000-$14,999	227,127	63.3	30.2	2.1	2.1	0.9	1.4
$15,000 +	143,271	66.4	27.9	1.7	2.0	0.7	1.2
RENTER							
TOTAL	5,849,307	36.2	40.0	5.4	7.1	4.5	6.7
Income Level							
<$5,000	1,645,661	36.0	42.7	5.0	6.1	3.7	6.6
$5,000-$9,999	2,236,793	34.4	40.6	5.5	7.3	4.6	7.6
$10,000-$14,999	1,253,453	36.0	38.7	5.7	7.9	5.1	6.7
$15,000 +	713,397	42.4	34.5	5.5	7.8	5.3	4.4
Negro	1,476,682	41.8	45.4	3.1	4.4	1.4	4.1
<$5,000	634,887	40.3	47.4	3.4	3.9	1.1	3.9
$5,000-$9,999	558,550	42.6	44.3	2.9	4.5	1.4	4.3
$10,000-$14,999	210,707	42.3	43.9	2.8	5.0	1.8	4.2
$15,000 +	72,538	47.4	39.7	2.5	5.3	1.6	3.4

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, PC(2)-2B, Mobility for States and Nation, Tables 21 and 22.

TABLE 1b

Mobility for Family Heads in Owner and Renter Occupied Units in Balance of SMSA By Race and Income, Ages 14 and Over: United States, 1970.

				Mover From			
	TOTAL	Same House	Mover W/in SMSA	Central City of Same SMSA	Central City of Other SMSA	Balance of Other SMSA	Non-metro Area
OWNER OCCUPIED							
TOTAL	11,974,597	65.1	16.7	7.9	3.2	4.2	2.9
Income Level							
<$5,000	1,040,836	77.3	11.3	4.6	2.2	2.4	2.2
$5,000-$9,999	2,837,701	65.0	17.6	8.3	2.7	3.2	3.2
$10,000-$14,999	3,852,892	72.1	18.5	9.4	3.6	4.3	3.4
$15,000 +	4,106,221	64.9	16.2	7.4	3.7	5.3	2.3
Negro	356,535	67.4	14.8	12.6	2.4	1.1	1.7
<$5,000	90,524	79.0	11.8	5.5	1.3	0.6	1.2
$5,000-$9;999	127,066	67.3	16.1	11.7	2.3	1.0	1.7
$10,000-$14,999	85,155	60.3	16.2	17.3	3.0	1.4	1.8
$15,000 +	54,290	58.8	14.6	19.0	3.8	1.7	2.1
RENTER OCCUPIED							
TOTAL	3,727,667	22.1	35.5	12.0	10.5	9.5	10.3
Income Level							
<$5,000	732,738	24.5	37.2	11.4	8.8	7.8	10.3
$5,000-$9,999	1,438,112	21.5	37.2	11.9	9.9	8.8	11.2
$10,000-$14,999	998,827	21.4	34.3	12.3	11.5	10.2	10.4
$15,000 +	557,990	23.6	31.3	12.5	12.7	12.0	7.9
Negro	234,205	35.1	36.3	13.5	7.0	2.6	5.7
< $5,000	99,335	36.4	39.0	12.0	5.3	1.9	5.4
$5,000-$9,999	88,555	34.8	36.2	13.4	7.2	2.7	5.8
$10,000-$14,999	34,380	33.1	30.8	16.5	9.8	3.9	5.9
$15,000 +	11,935	31.7	27.4	17.7	12.1	4.9	6.1

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, PC(2)-2B, Mobility for States and Nation, Tables 21 and 22.

As demonstrated elsewhere, (Figure 1) blacks have lower rates of recent mobility than whites for 1955-1960, (Lee et al.,) and for 1965-1970 (Figure 2). Comparing the two periods and standardizing for age and education, the rates of older and less well educated blacks are even lower for the latter period while the gap between white and black migration rates has increased. Blacks are now less likely to move between states or even between counties than whites and the interstate mobility rates for blacks are only about half those of whites at all ages, except for the 20-29 year age group where the rate is about three-fourths that of whites. Nearly 80 percent of recent black movers moved within the county of residence in 1970 compared with only 60 percent of white movers. (CPR, P-20, No. 273)

Discussion

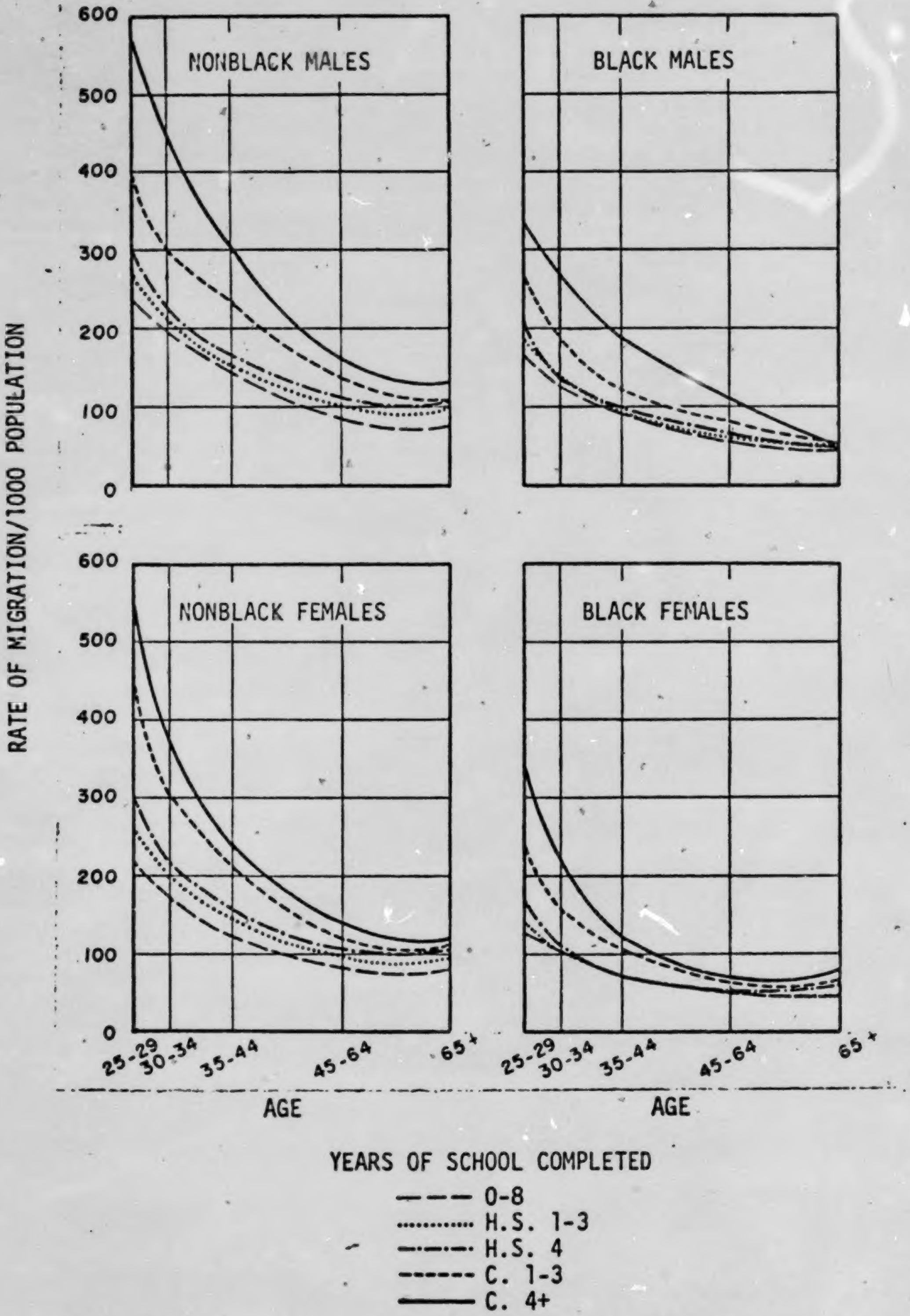
Doubtless, part of this increasing stability of blacks may be explained by the increased proportion of homeowners. As blacks have migrated from the rural areas and the South generally, and as educational levels have improved in the younger generations, economic opportunities have improved for them as well. The proscription of discrimination in obtaining federal support for insuring and acquiring mortgages has also aided in the improved opportunity for homeownership. Nevertheless, like immigrants from abroad, the first generations of blacks who become homeowners are likely to remain in owner-occupied homes because the cost of moving becomes prohibitive. Succeeding generations, in which educational achievement levels increase with commensurate income increases will probably be more mobile than their parents, other conditions being equal.

Black homeowners are less likely to move than white homeowners. Thus, one may argue, that once a neighborhood is characterized by a preponderance of black homeowners it will stabilize in much the same way as the ethnic neighborhoods created by the turn of the century migrants to our largest cities. If other public services such as education, police, health and sanitation are maintained at a reasonably high level, the need for residential mobility will decrease further. Homeownership tends to provide a protection against inflation, in construction as well as in financing a mortgage, consequently only the most affluent black homeowners are likely to move. With increasing proportions of blacks in a neighborhood there tends at present to be a rather rapid white withdrawal aggravating the problems of racial integration in the public schools -- one of the latent effects of housing policies intended to protect the civil right of minorities to acquire adequate housing.

This apparent conflict in goals, viz., protecting the right to homeownership with the unintended effect of increasing de facto segregation, particularly in the schools, warrants much more attention of researchers. What are the differences between neighborhoods dominated by rental units as opposed to those with a preponderance of owner-occupied units? Should housing policy be formulated to increase minority ownership while maintaining racial balances in neighborhoods and especially in public schools

FIGURE 1

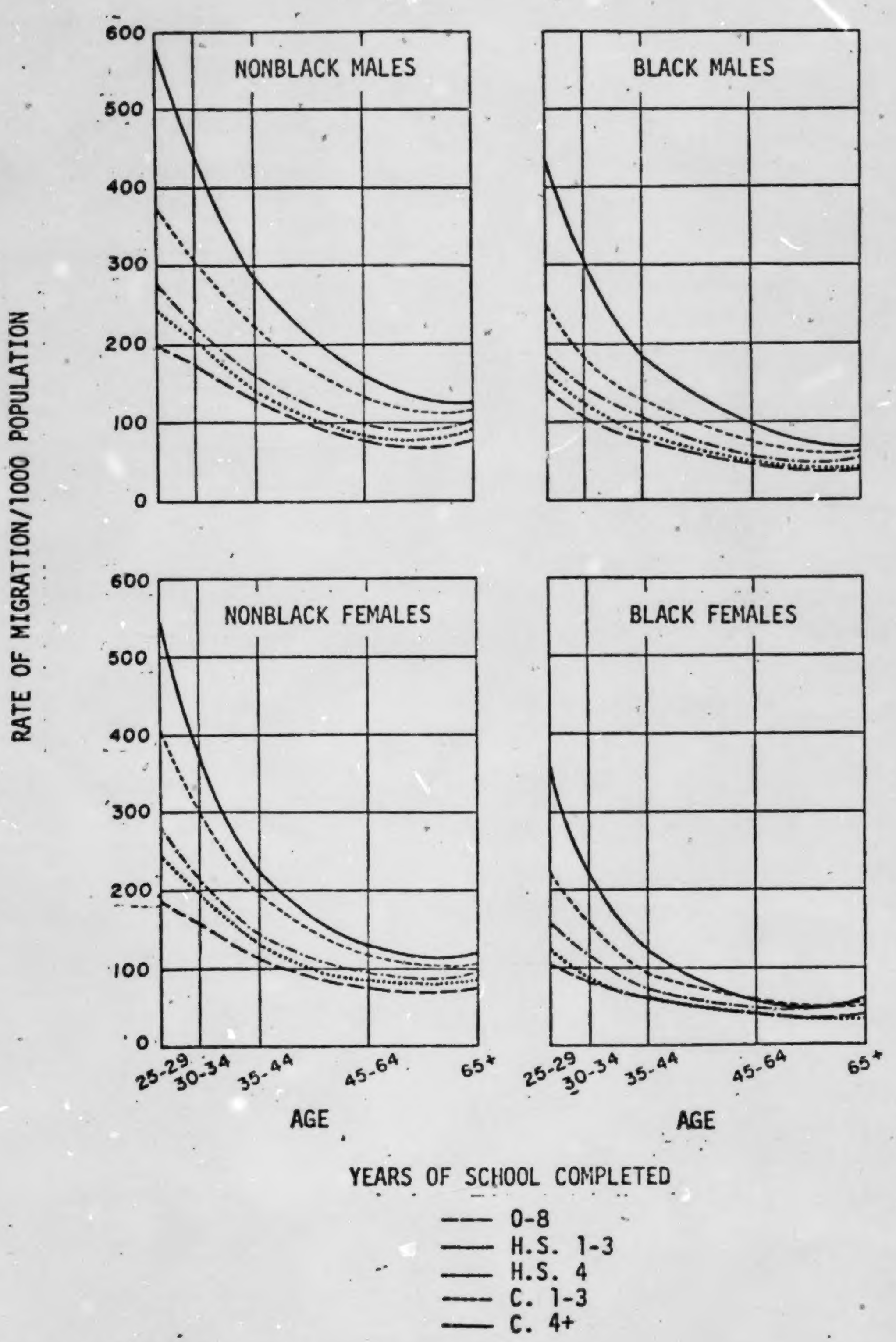
RATES OF MIGRATION PER 1000 POPULATION BY RACE, SEX, AND AGE, AND BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, UNITED STATES, 1955-1960



SOURCE: Lee, E.S. et al. An Introduction to Urban Decentralization Research. Oak Ridge National Laboratory, 1971, p. 23.

FIGURE 2

RATES OF MIGRATION PER 1000 POPULATION BY RACE, SEX, AND AGE, AND BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, UNITED STATES, 1965-1970



through special subsidization for schools and for other services, if not to individual homeowners? If homeownership is a deterrent to black residential mobility, and hence to integration, why not use this knowledge to reverse the process of dis-integration of neighborhoods by developing legislation providing positive incentives for integration? What are the effects of changing tenure characteristics of neighborhoods on services, and the quality of life in these areas? With the decline of black migration from rural areas, and increasing homeownership among blacks in the cities, I anticipate a further decline in residential mobility rates among blacks in the 1980 census.

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NOMADIC AMERICANS: A CONCERN FOR RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS?

Recent trends have created an increasing proportion of older persons in the population of the United States. In all likelihood this condition will continue for the foreseeable future, with the increase represented also in gross numbers of persons in excess of 65 years of age. This basic shift in the population structure necessarily results in an alteration of the functional relationships between population elements, and raises serious and far-reaching questions concerning the functions this older population is to play in society.

Many members of this age cohort are not waiting for researchers to determine what their role might be nor for official programs to be established. Abetted by an increased affluence, based primarily upon pensions, social security, and personal savings accrued during a period of economic boom, a portion of the aged population has opted for a pattern of activity which justifies their characterization as "gypsies", or perhaps more acceptably, "nomads." They are basing their lives upon what they rather uniformly refer to as "camping." This is not camping as you may have known it as a Boy Scout. Nor is it what most folks have in mind when they spend a weekend in the local State Park. But it is the name assigned by the practitioners, and will be used here.

In truth, little is known of these people. My own camping experience of the past fifteen years has provided opportunity to observe numbers of these persons, and to talk with some. My wife, a much more gregarious person than I, has been an invaluable source of information regarding their activities, values, and histories. By these means I have gained some insight into these people and their life style, but I have many more questions than answers.

First, one can make only the vaguest of guesses concerning the number of persons involved, although it must be substantial. Their origins are another question of interest: What social classes do they represent; from which sections of the nation do they come; are they selectively drawn from particular occupations; do they represent specific educational levels; what are their past histories of camping, or other athletic or adventuresome endeavors? With what kind of personalities are we dealing: One assumes, and quite logically, that the older person who sets off in a camper must have strong attributes of inquisitiveness, confidence, aggressiveness, extroversion, and the like, but is this really the case? How do persons who choose this means of spending their later years compare to persons who choose more customary, perhaps more sedentary, activities, with regard to their personalities and to the social characteristics noted above? Where do they spend their time when camping? To what extent is there a consensus regarding desirable locations? What differences characterize their activities and their locations in summer and in winter? How do they obtain essential services of communication, organizational and agency services, and health care? To what extent are they developing a sense of group consciousness, and a feeling of community among themselves? What is the nature of their family relationships? I find questions such as these both personally intriguing, sociologically relevant, and socially imperative.

My direct and vicarious communication with representatives of this aggregate have provided me with some information regarding them. While it tends to be anecdotal, it is illustrative, informative, and of interest. Further, it provides a basis for developing sociologically sound questions. For those reasons, I include some of it herewith.

Many, if not most, of these people spend extended periods of time each year in camping. Some, indeed, have sold their homes, divested themselves of real estate obligations, and are totally dependent upon their camper for an abode. Others vary this pattern by spending some time each year with their children, or by returning occasionally to a home of which they maintain ownership. Due in part to the great amount of time spent in the camper, abetted by their age and its associated infirmities as well as the need for protection from weather and other exigencies, the people to whom I here refer travel almost exclusively in "hardsided" outfits: mobile homes, trailers, and pick-up mounted units are the norm. Most of these are equipped with stove, heating unit, refrigerator, and self-contained water and sanitation facilities in order that they may serve their function of being a home away from home.

There is an established migratory pattern possessing definable structural and functional characteristics. As one would expect, they move northward in the spring, scattering to a considerable extent as they do so. It appears that the greatest number of them are found west of the Mississippi River during the summer season. In winter they are to be found in the southern tier states, from Florida to Arizona, to my knowledge, and perhaps in California. This migration is not without a resemblance to that of the birds. Less structured in the spring, it assumes distinctive characteristics in the fall. Weather, the approach of cold and snow, triggers it. Movement apparently begins at approximately the same time for many individuals. There are recognized assembly points upon which the nomads coverge. They follow regularly used roads to move south. There are stop-over points, Walker Lake in Nevada is one, where they may delay for several weeks as weather permits, resulting in aggregations of considerable size which then convoy southward. And, finally, there are specific destinations toward which they head where conditions will be favorable to an extended winter stay. Bentsen-Rio Grande State Park in Texas is one of these, as has been Yuma Arixona in the past, about which more later.

As must be evident, these people are not loners. Regardless of their unique personalities, the pattern of activity in which they engage causes them to associate with one another frequently. By accident, they find themselves sharing facilities with persons whom they have known at other locations. Eventually friendships ripen and purposive plans are made to unite with friends at another campground at some future date, perhaps months in the offing.

The external fortitude and bravado they express mask an insidious and shared vulnerability. They are old, they frequently are in secluded places, there is no police protection available to them and no communication by means of which to summon it, and their abodes are susceptible to forced entry. Consequently, a considerable undercurrent of fear is to be found among them. As a result, many of them carry guns with which to repel attempted assault or robbery. And they do not open their units to anyone at night. As one nomad said, if the individual who knocks on your door at night tells you he is a policeman, you tell him that you will be glad to unlock the door and talk with him when the sun comes up. Whether these fears are valid I do not know, but the campers believe them to be. And they have generated folk legends concerning campers who have been assaulted, whose property has been damaged, or who have repelled or killed individuals attempting assault, as a means of substantiating and justifying their fears and their possession of guns.

Their association with the "real world" is a kind of love-hate relationship. Obviously they wish to dissociate themselves from many of its aspects. But, likewise, they are dependent upon it for many of their personal and social needs. Consequently, they have developed both boundary maintenance activities and systemic linkages to serve their interests. If for no other reason than to obtain their social security, pension, or dividend checks, they are dependent upon the postal service. Maintaining an address where these vital missives may reach one would seem to pose considerable difficulty. Need coupled with ingenuity has resulted in a system of maintaining mail drops in a number of third or fourth class post offices to which mail routinely is sent. The campers, timing their activities to the monthly flow of such paper products, request the mail drop to forward all accumulated mail to a general box office at a location where they plan to be at the appropriate time.

Vehicles must be registered with some official representative of the society. This item may represent a noxious expenditure to the campers, whose means are limited. They have determined that many states will register a vehicle with rather minor proofs of residence, and that the costs of such registration vary from one state to another. For reasons such as these, Texas registration is found on many camper vehicles which have been but briefly exposed to the sunny skies of that state.

But compliance with the regulations and demands of the institutionalized elements of society may be regarded as so burdensome that it is bypassed as much as possible. Only partly in jest did one female camper tell her husband that when she died he should bury her alongside the road. This would be in keeping with the values by which she had lived, akin to those pathetic but noble graves which trace the routes of the wagon trains across the American plains. It would also spare her husband the costs of a funeral, the need for filling out forms and abiding by regulations, and the loss of her social security check.

I have noted that many campers exist on limited means. This condition has been cruelly exacerbated by the tremendous inflation of recent years, accompanied by the most meager of palliatives for persons on fixed incomes. The very nature of the outfits these people use means that they are uneconomical to operate. One response to this condition has been to operate them no more than necessary. Once parked on a campsite, it is almost a challenge to see how long one may delay turning over the engine in car or truck.

Inflation has had other effects upon the activity patterns of the nomadic campers. Where once they paid the typically limited fees charged at many campgrounds, they now seek out those for which no fee is necessary. The Bureau of Land Management campgrounds, and those of the Corps of Engineers are increasingly popular because they are free. But they often are not in the most congenial locations. National Forest campgrounds, at one time refreshingly free of fees, are more and more frequently encumbered with a daily monetary demand. Simultaneously, the daily fee increases with frightsome regularity. Where not long ago the standard fee in a National Forest campground was one dollar, today it is two dollars, or three, and on the way up. State parks, where the daily fee may range between four and seven dollars, are beyond the means of most nomads.

Compounding the fee problem, specifically in the National Forests, is the fact that the non-fee areas are remote, and customarily reached over difficult roads. Many of the campers do not wish to expose their vehicles and their tires to these conditions, nor do they relish being that far removed from assistance if it should be needed.

One result of the fee problem is that the campers seek out the free areas nearest the main roads, and spend as long a period as possible in them. Since most public campgrounds have stay limits, a kind of jousting ensues in which the campers attempt to circumvent the rôles and the campground personnel attempt to enforce them. Let it be said here that many of the rangers are sensitive to the needs of the campers. Where possible they overlook violations of the stay limits. Or they may suggest departure for a day or two, to be followed by a resumption of occupancy.

In a few instances, local people have responded favorably to the descent of large numbers of campers upon their locale, a condition most apt to occur in the winter. For years Yuma, Arizona, had a reputation for providing facilities for the campers, including space, reduced electric rates, planned social activities, and provision of agency services. This acceptance met many needs of the campers, not least their financial restrictions.

Facilities are not always available in the numbers needed by the campers for their winter stop-overs, nor is the reception by local people and agencies universally favorable. Those conditions have led at times to the establishment of squatter communities in desert areas where many campers, using self-contained units, establish common but temporary residence.

Inflation has caused campers to increase their dependence upon indigenous food supplies such as berries and fish. It has led them to can foods in their units, when there are seasonal surpluses cheaply available. It has led to development of devices for minimizing the cost of daily activities, such as the potato baker made from a large tin can in which 5-6 charcoal briquets may be induced to bake potatoes for a meal. And it has resulted in a dependence upon second-hand shops, particularly those of the Salvation Army and Goodwill Industries for purchase of clothing and other necessities.

A seamier, but curiously admirable, aspect of this need leads campers to seek out and scavenge city dumps. Some are able to supplement their incomes by repairing and selling items such as TV sets found there. The dump at Homestead, Florida, final resting place for items abandoned by service men suddenly assigned overseas, was a source of bicycles, refrigerators, TV sets, and other goodies until a bureaucratic decision closed it to the scavengers. The location of dumps and of second-hand clothing stores is shared among campers as an articulation for easing the financial burdens of their lives.

As a final thought regarding this description of the camping life, let me note some ways in which the needs of nomadic campers differ from those of campers most generally in the minds of persons who design campgrounds. These older persons appreciate quiet and repose. They like children, but not the noises children typically make. They have nothing against radios, but would rather not listen to programming selections made by others. In short, they need quiet areas. From what I have said earlier, they are in need of low fee areas. Provision of these need not work undue hardship upon the campground agencies, for the self-contained nature of the outfits used by the nomads means that minimal services need be provided. What appears to be a growing need could be serviced with little cost and minor disruption to the needs of more typical campground users.

The foregoing description of nomadic older campers does not constitute a compelling justification for sociological investigation. There are characteristices of this aggregation which have that quality, however, and I would like to bring some of those to your attention at this time.

It is apparent that members of this aggregate are developing a tangible life style which has precedents as old as the oldest wandering tribes of homo sapiens but which nonetheless is essentially new and unique for late 20th century Americans. The associated norms, expectations, attitudinal structures, and territorial characteristics are susceptible to investigation, as are the techniques by means of which group consciousness, sense of community, and identification are developed and maintained. The concept of reference group could be examined, perhaps within a framework of adoption theory, to determine the sources of influence into this life style as well as the forces which cause its advocates to remain in it.

The opportunity to study the development of a life style clearly distinct from the prevalent existent one is rarely this available. It should not be ignored.

The demographics of the campers provide opportunity for ramified investigation. The numbers, social and personal characteristics, seasonal locations, and movement into and out of the nomadic existence would be informative, would provide data of utility to service agencies both public and private, and would enhance development of sociological theory.

The nature of boundary maintenance activities, the functions they serve, the degree of consensus concerning their nature and utility would also be appropriate areas of investigation for sociologists. They must exist, and one may speculate concerning their nature and function, but it would be "more fun to know."

Continuing consideration of the relationships between this activity aggregate and the general society, it would be useful to know the means of systemic linkage which have been developed. The population to which we refer has specific needs which can be served only by service agencies. We have referred already to income, communication, and provision of health care. We need to know the other forms of linkage which are regarded as necessary and to determine the implementations which have been developed. At a more informal level, it would be of interest to know the linkages which sustain communication with the families these persons have left behind them, to ascertain the degree and nature of their relationship with the religious institution, and to locate and describe the organizational structures which have evolved, internally or externally, to cater to the needs of these people, such as the Campers and Hikers Association, The Avion Travel Club, and the National Camping Travelers.

These nomads also represent a significant economic unit. The gross value of their outfits must be enormous. Their expenditures for daily existence and for maintenance -- gasoline, repairs, replacement, food -- must be large. Their contribution to state governments in the form of licenses and taxes must, in aggregate, be substantial. With typical perceptiveness, some elements of industry most closely affected have recognized the importance of the economic contribution. The Airstream Company, manufacturer of trailers, has for many years organized tours under the aegis of its Wally Byam affiliation. A study of the amounts and distribution of funds expended by the nomads would have obvious implications.

You may wonder still just why this aggregate of people should be of interest to rural sociologists. The most obvious response would be that by far the majority of their activity is conducted in a rural milieu. They travel extensively through rural areas, they stop mainly in rural settings, their patronage tends to be conducted in rural towns. They interact with rural people. To the extent that they need emergency services -- police, fire, health — the odds are that the need will affect a rural agency. Both their static and dynamic functions are quite apt to affect rural people and rural organizations.

These effects are amplified in the large winter congregations. When hundreds of campers are assembled in one place they provide an economic stimulus of major proportion. Conversely, they may also impose a burden of almost insupportable size upon local services and agencies. Tapping on to existent systems, when they are present, may severely tax water and sewage capabilities. In short, all of the benefits and disadvantages of a transient population are visited upon the location of their winter shelter points which are ill-prepared to meet them.

A further justification for laying the potential of research among this group before rural sociologists is to be found in the difficulties inherent in such research. These people are spread across a major part of a continent. They are mobile. They are largely unknown. The problems of population identification, sample selection, and data collection are enormous. Rural sociologists have had experience with such difficulties in the past and have developed means for coping. In particular, the regional research experience of the rural sociologists would be of inestimable value in locating and collecting data from people so widely dispersed.

I hope within a reasonable time to be able to implement research into some of the aspects of life among these elderly nomads. Cooperative regional research would be instrumental in conduct of a project which would attain maximum contribution to knowledge and to testing and elaboration of sociological theory. It would be immensely encouraging if some of you listening to this paper were to express an interest in participating in a regional project of this nature. If such interest should develop, the Southern Rural Development Center has offered its services as a mechanism of coordination.

The need is apparent; an appropriate coordinating agency is available; the sociological potentials are obvious; the potential for application is clear. Progress is dependent upon provision of will, personal commitment, and financial support.

INTENSITY OF ASPIRATIONS IN ADULT HOUSEHOLDS AND ITS RELATION TO HOUSEHOLD STATUS ATTAINMENT[1]

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During the last several decades, much effort has been directed toward measuring and examining aspirations of individuals and groups. Sociologists have focused upon cross-cultural and inter-strata differences, while the concentration of social psychologists has been on the origin and complexity of achievement motivation (Atkinson and Feather, 1974). Although there is ample literature on motivation and aspirations in general, there has been little attention specifically to aspirations among adults. Aspirations research has been confined almost completely to adolescent males (Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970). One may interpret this neglect as an indication of the social scientist's desire to monitor aspirations during a formative age against which later attainments may be compared rather than with the ongoing process of aspirations over a lifetime.

A review of the aspiration literature reveals few studies of adult aspirations and none utilizing a longitudinal perspective which tracks aspirants through time. One obvious reason for this is the inherent difficulty associated with panel studies extending over a long period. In addition, there is the view held by some social scientists that aspirations are not reliable predictors of future attainment. Kuvlesky and Bealer (1967) arrived at this position based on findings involving occupational aspirations of young males and their subsequent occupational attainments in young adulthood. Further support for such a contention is perhaps best expressed by Featherman (1972), when he states that:

> "there has been no support for the assertion by some social psychologists that achievement orientations are highly relevant to status attainment processes in industrialized society." (p. 131)

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[1] Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociology Section, Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists, Atlanta, Georgia, February, 1977. The data were collected and analyzed as part of Alabama Hatch Project 316 and contributing to Southern Regional Research Project S-79, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station.

Problem Statement

This analysis is an exploratory effort to determine levels of aspiration among adults. Special attention is given to household aspiration configurations involving the male household head and homemaker. Because aspiration studies have tended to focus almost exclusively on males, serious questions exist concerning whether the aspirations of adult and particularly adult females can be meaningfully measured and, if so, what procedures should be utilized.

A second focus is on the question of the relationship between status attainment indicators and aspirations. One aspect of this concern is the association that exists at any given point in time between attained statuses and existing levels of aspiration. A further aspect here is the relevance of adult aspirations in predicting subsequent status attainment. Both of these questions are addressed using the household as the relevant unit of study. The household is assumed most appropriate for adults constrained by spouse and family responsibilities.

Theoretical Framework

Zetterberg (1965) states that man behaves in ways designed to realize his self image and is primarily concerned with preservation of his own self evaluation. Such a conceptualization of human motivation has evolved within the realm of ego-psychology, which itself emerged in the wake of psychoanalysis. Several postulates and theorems about subjective motivation have been developed from this ego-psychology perspective.

One such theorem is that of "rank motivation," which Zetterberg describes in the following way:

> "Persons are likely to engage in those actions within their repertoire of actions which maintain them in the ranks they hold." (p. 130)

The term "rank" is used to indicate the evaluation or value assigned to each stratum within a stratification system and to the myriad of roles held by persons in any given stratum. Accompanying each role are expected behaviors, attitudes, and attributes. These are acknowledged not only by the individuals occupying various stratum, but also by the public which observes the person in various roles. Zetterberg postulates that individuals behave in a manner consistent with that which is expected of them, and that their aspirations are more or less aligned with those of their peers. All this is done in order to avoid arousing the disapproval of others, be it blatant or subtle, and to maintain ones security or self esteem within rank.

It logically follows from the rank motivation theorem that an important goal of ego is to maintain a sense of personal security. The potential for ego disappointment resulting from a desire for unrealistic goals is to be avoided. Toward this end, adults who have already attained various ranks set their future goals in terms of perceived feasibility for further attainment, given their physical, social, and psychological potentials.

Sneden (1974) builds on this theorem by suggesting that it is necessary for the less successful members of a culture to devalue high ranking goals in favor of lower ranking substitutes in order to retain a healthy sense of self-esteem. These lower ranking goals often are institutionalized and passed on from one generation to the next. Through such a process, the "repertoire of ones rank" is developed and legitimized.

This decline in the adult's desire for advancement and ultimate resignation to his or her attained rank finds support in the work of Berelson and Steiner (1964). These authors contend that the less successful individuals become disenchanted with the dream of upward mobility so prevalent in a technological society. Disillusioned they are left isolated and lacking faith in their potentials for improvement.

Sneden's study of mobility orientations among the poor revealed that high evaluation of middle-class status models, mass media use, general spatial mobility, and the desire for contact with middle-class referents were the most significant factors associated with high social mobility aspirations. Yet the author adds that although psychic mobility lays a foundation for upward social mobility, vicarious intersystemic contact alone is probably not enough to allow one to develop a clear perception of paths to upward social mobility. Such a perception of possible social ascent appears related to the acquisition of basic coping skills which come from actual involvement in a stratum of high social rank.

A different theoretical orientation is expressed in Merton's (1957) "status-frustration hypothesis". This theorem holds that the lower the socio-economic class, the greater is the status frustration. In this conceptualization, the person of lower class rank would experience the most intense frustration. On the other hand, Berelson and Steiner (1964) counter this contention by indicating that those suffering most acutely from status frustration are the achievers; those persons who have accomplished some degree of advancement, and who, finding achievement satisfying in higher ranks, desire more.

This discussion is in no way offered as a definitive statement of aspiration theory as it applies to the existence and function of aspirations among adults. Disagreement exists between theoretical perspectives, especially over Merton's contention that unrealized aspirations lead to status frustation. Our feeling is that the frustration theory is less useful in analyzing adult aspirations and status attainments than motivation theory and its accomodation mechanism.

Measuring Adult Aspirations

As discussed in the previous section, there have been few efforts to measure aspirations among adults. One exception is found in the work of Reissman (1953), who attempted to measure aspirations in terms of opportunities for attaining an occupational advancement. This technique employed a hypothetical situation which offered the respondent "an opportunity to make a substantial advance in a job or occupation." Responses of "might stop me from making the change, would be a serious consideration, but wouldn't stop me, and wouldn't matter at all" were presented for each of 11 specific conditions that might be encountered in the new job.

Reissman contended that respondents who indicated they "would not favor" a condition were reflecting a stable commitment which predictably removed that condition from their value system. A favorable response across a number of conditions was interpreted as reflecting different degrees or levels of aspiration. By using this type of hypothetical constraints, the respondent is required to make a realistic assessment based on an existing status referent. Therefore, the aspirations revealed are realistic expressions of a person's desire for change. Although Reissman clearly indicates that he visualized these questions forming an aspiration scale, no published work has been located in which he attempted to construct such a scale.

In a later study, utilizing a variation of this technique, Fliegel (1959) constructed a simple aspiration index employing the hypothetical goal of "a lot of money" and 10 limiting conditions especially designed for farm operators. Weights of 1 for a negative response of "would stop me" and 0 for a neutral or positive response were assigned to each condition. An 8-point index was constructed in which level of aspiration was defined operationally "as the degree to which the items are perceived as obstacles to a chance to make more money". When relatively few obstacles are perceived as limiting factors, then the respondent places greater value on the goal and aspires more intensely to its attainment.

The present study continues the efforts to construct a quantitative aspiration measure for adults. Using available data for male household heads and homemakers and considering each as independent adult samples, two Guttman scales were constructed.[2] The question format was similar to that used by Reissman, except for slight modification as seemed necessary for rural respondents and especially for homemakers. The hypothetical situations for both male and female respondents were as follows with homemaker adaptations in parentheses:

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[2] Louis Guttman, "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis." Educational and Psychological Measurement. 7, 1947, p. 247-279.

> "Suppose you (your husband) were (was) offered a chance to make twice as much as you (he) now make (makes). Would you or wouldn't you favor (his) making the change if it meant (that: . . . You (he) would have to work at night instead of in the daytime?"[3]

This hypothetical situation and job related conditions were administered to a 7-state regional sample of household heads and homemakers in 1960. The resulting data were tested for scalability, and two independent Guttman scales were contructed. The household head scale consisted of 7 conditions and the homemaker scale of 6 conditions.[4] The array of all 11 conditions from least to most favored revealed considerable similarity in the ordering of the conditions between rural residents in the South and Reissman's residents of Evanston, Illinois.

Sample

A sample of "low-income" counties throughout the Southern region was obtained statistically using data from the 1954 Census of Agriculture. The primary factor considered in determining the population of low-income counties was the 1954 Farm Operator Family Level of Living Index.[5] There were 196 counties classified either "substantially or moderately low-income", based on the average index rating. A stratified sample of 21 counties in 5 states was randomly selected from among these low-income counties.

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[3] This item was substituted for the Reissman item "learn a new routine." The remaining conditions are the same as those used by Reissman:
. . .You (he) would have to be away from the family for some time.
. . .You (the family) would have to move around the country a lot.
. . .You (you) would have to leave your community.
. . .You (he) would have to give up your (his) spare time.
. . .You (you) would have to keep quiet about your political views.
. . .You (you) would have to keep quiet about your religious views.
. . .You (you) would have to leave your friends in this community.
. . .Your (his) health would be endangered.
. . .You (he) would have to work harder than you do (he does) now.
. . .You (he) would have to take on more responsibility.

[4] For a discussion of the scale construction procedures, see John E. Dunkelberger, "Measures of Job Mobility or Financial Aspirations", in Scaling Social Data, Charles L. Cleland, Ed., Southern Cooperative Series Bulletin No. 108, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, 1965.

[5] Margaret J. Hagood, Gladys K. Bowles and Robert R. Mount. Farm Operator Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1945 1950, and 1954. Statistical Bulletin No. 204, USDA, Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington, March, 1957.

County sampling segments were identified using an area probability procedure. The ultimate study units were rural, open-country and farm households. Interviews were conducted during the summer of 1960 with both the male head of household and homemaker.

A restudy of the same 21 counties was conducted in 1972, with the objective of determining changes which had occurred in counties classified as low-income in 1960. The original 1960 county sampling segments were again used, but no effort was made to establish a longitudinal design by including the same households in both samples. Nevertheless, in using the same counties and segments, some households were interviewed in 1972 that had also been interviewed in 1960. After completion of the survey, a subsample of 190 households in 5 states was identified by surname and demographic characteristics as having been interviewed in both time periods. In every case the household had consisted of both a male head younger than 65 years of age who was able to work and a homemaker in 1960.

Findings

Head & Homemaker Aspiration Scale

The array of items along the latent aspiration continuum for the 190 matched households differed only slightly from that obtained for the total 1960 sample. Overall, this 1972 matched subsample had somewhat lower aspirations. Condition by condition the proportions of favorable male head responses were approximately 10 percent fewer. This difference was very consistent across every scale condition. A similar but less consistent difference was observed for the subsample of homemakers. Proportional differences ranged from 2 to 10 percent.

A profile of somewhat lower aspirations for the matched subsample used in this study is a reasonable finding. The fact that these households represent a sedentary grouping that continued to live in these low-income counties over this 12-year period (1960-1972) suggests either a better socioeconomic adaptation (that is, being relatively better off than others) or adaptation to their existing socioeconomic situation by reducing their aspirations for higher ranking goals.

Comparisons between the aspirations male household heads held for themselves and those held by homemakers for their husbands also revealed differences. Using data for the matched subsample shown in Table 1, 2 conditions reflected large differences between the conditions that male household heads were willing to accept in order to obtain job advancement and what homemakers favor. Homemakers were much less willing than the males to have the husband "work harder than he does now" (32 percent) or "take on more responsibility" (14 percent). Conversely, there were similar proportions of male heads and homemakers favoring the male making the job change given 6 of the 11 conditions. In no instance was a larger proportion of homemakers in favor of accepting a condition to a better job than was true for husbands. The conclusion may be drawn that homemaker aspirations are somewhat lower than are those of male household heads and that this could serve to depress or restrict the bahavior required for the household to realize higher ranking goals.

This subsample of 190 households included a sizeable proportion of both heads and homemakers who had moderate to high aspirations-- 54 percent of the males and 45 percent of the homemakers. Aspiration scores ranged from 0-7 on the male head scale and 0-6 on the homemaker scale. The higher scores represented the most intense aspiration. In order to test for the degree of aspiration consistency within household units, a matrix was developed by cross tabulating the aspiration scores of male heads and homemakers. This matrix was separated into quartile approximations by dichotomizing the two scale ranges into low and high aspiration components. Scores of 0-2 were low and 3-6 or 7 were high. Ranked with greatest weight given to the aspiration of the male household head, this procedure resulted in the following distribution of households by aspiration level:

	Percent
Low head and Low homemaker -	32
Low head and High homemaker -	14
High head and Low homemaker -	23
High head and High homemaker -	31

What was the nature of the existing social and economic situation in 1960 with these household aspiration levels? And, what predictive value do these aspiration levels have relative to how the households fared over the 12-year period from 1960 to 1972? It is to these two questions that the remainder of this analysis is addressed.

Household Aspiration Level and Status Attainment

Three social and economic factors describing household status attainment were considered. These include the occupation of the male head, family income and the couple's social participation. Analysis was made of the relationship between household aspiration level and each factor to determine the extent to which aspiration levels are differentiated. 1960 Status Attainment, Table 2.

Occupation of Head. Measurement of this factor was made using 8 occupational categories. These categories were subsequently reduced to three broad types - agriculture related, white collar and blue collar.

The findings revealed that a larger proportion of the households where a low level of aspiration existed were in agriculture and this porportion declined at each higher aspiration level. By comparison, households with high levels of aspiration were most likely to be those in which the head had a blue collar job. White collar occupations represented smaller proportions generally, but the relationship to aspiration level revealed a steadily increasing proportion of households at each higher aspiration level from 22 percent of the low-low level to 38 percent to the high-high level.

Family Income. Rural areas in which these households lived were low-income in 1960. During the early 60's, a family income of less than $4,000 was defined as below the "poverty line". Only 28 percent of these sample households had incomes of more than $4,000 including all earned and nonearned sources.

No patterned relationship was observed between household aspiration level and family income. Households in which the head and homemaker shared low aspirations for job change were similarly represented on all income levels, as were those households where both the head and homemaker held high aspirations. Any tendency for higher family income to be associated with level of household aspiration was slight.

Social Participation. A composite social participation score was used involving the average organizational participation of the household head and homemaker in 1960. Included in the index were weights for organizational membership, attendance, and leadership. The resulting range of scores was 0 through 9, with 44 percent of the households having medium scores of 3 through 6 and 30 percent having high scores.

Here again, aspiration levels revealed no patterned association with the extent of social participation by household heads and homemakers. Percentage differences did exist for the distribution of social participation scores among households with different aspiration levels, but these differences suggested little support for any contention that households with high aspirations were more socially active in the organizational life of their communities.

1972 Status Attainment, Table 3

Occupation of Head. By 1972, some of the 190 household heads had become disabled or retired. In fact, one-third (32%) of the recontacted households were headed by a male no longer employed. This fact was noted by including a fourth occupational category for these households.

It was found that the proportions of households at each aspiration level were comprised of fewer households in which the male head's occupation was in agriculture or where he was unemployed. The converse (a direct pattern) was observed for heads in white and blue collar occupations.

Since unemployed household heads were no longer in specific occupations and represented a group of unique households in terms of economic goal attainment, the same relationship was considered for only households with employed male heads. This reduced the sample to 129 households. It also revealed the heavy loading of agricultural occupations within the low aspiration households. Blue collar workers, on the other hand, were clearly predominant at both aspiration levels where high aspirations characterized the male heads.

Family Income. No attempt was made to measure change in family income over time because of the inherent problems in making such comparisons. The incomes used were unadjusted gross dollars received in 1972 from all family sources. Income levels were developed to reflect an approximation to a quartile distribution and resulted in a wider income range within levels. These data clearly revealed that many households had more income than 12 years earlier; however, they also showed that a sizeable number of households still had very low incomes. Sixty percent of the households had incomes of less than $6,000, and one-third had less than $3,000.

An erratic pattern was observed for the relationship between household aspiration levels and family income. No distinct pattern predicting which households would attain high income levels could be made based on the pre-existing level of household aspiration. Households with the highest aspirations had the smallest proportion of households with high family incomes. However, there did exist some tendency for levels of attained family incomes to conform to a predictable pattern for households of the remaining aspiration types. Generally, the lower the household aspiration level the less likely the household was to realize an improvement in family income over time.

Social Participation. The same social participation measure was used here as in 1960. It was found that the range of scores was more varied in 1972, with several scores above 9 and one as high as 20. In addition, the pattern of social participation scores associated with aspiration level also varied in another respect.

The findings revealed a bimodal relationship. Households with the lowest and highest levels of aspiration were relatively similar in the proportions involved in formal organizations. Both of these household groupings were predominantly at the medium participation level. In contrast, households where the male heads and homemakers held dissimilar aspirations, household social participation scores were much more polarized. This may reflect accelerated participation by the family member possessing the higher aspirations. Further testing of this possibility needs to be made.

Conclusion

From the data presented in this analysis we find support for using a hypothetical goal situation for measuring the aspirations of adult females. Specifically, in attempting to measure aspirations for family socioeconomic attainment among wives and homemakers in 1960, the methodological technique of projecting the goal attainment to the husband and expressing the limitations in terms of the family and household does provide an acceptable scale. Yet it is reasonable to speculate that aspriation projected by the homemaker for her husband is a less appropriate procedure in the context of the 1970's than it was in 1960. During the last 17 years we have witnessed what some consider a woman's revolution. The strength of the Women's Movement has heightened awareness among women throughout the U.S. and, along with other factors, has brought about a subsequent increase in female participation in nearly all dimensions of social and economic life.

A replication of this study using the same hypothetical conditions in which the homemaker projects goal attainment aspiration to her husband would be highly questionable today. Despite the fact that low-income rural women are perhaps least influenced by the feminist literature and by the press given to the Women's Movement, it would be erroneous to assume they are not at least partial participants in the evolutionary process of women's consciousness. A request to female respondents in 1977 for their aspirations projected to their husbands might well be met with resentment.

These data do not provide any test of this validity question. Nevertheless, the fact that male household heads and homemakers respond similarly to the limiting conditions and that a high proportion of couples hold generally similar attitudes suggest that both heads and homemakers are responding to the same motivation for goal attainment.

These findings involving the relationship between general indicators of status attainment reveal little support for any consistant patterning of household aspiration levels that might serve to suggest subsequent status attainment. This lack of association for adult households may represent a reasonable outcome. The broad range of ages and resources present in the sample suggests the need for futher analysis holding such factors constant. Nevertheless, the one result that does seem clear is the limited predictive value of aspirations in terms of future attainment. Those households with high aspiration levels represent nonmobile households living in low-income rural areas, where for many, the incentives for migration were considerable.

Table 1. Favorable Aspiration Responses of a Sample of 190 Male Household Heads and Homemakers to Eleven Conditions Associated with a Hypothetical Opportunity to Change Jobs in 1960.

	Favorable responses						
	Household heads			Homemakers			
Conditions	Number	Percent	Rank	Number	Percent	Rank	Difference
Working at night instead of daytime	108	56.8	(1)	105	55.3	(1)	- 1.5
Leave friends	97*	51.1	(3)	87	45.8	(3)	- 5.3
Leave present community	95	50.0	(4)	89*	46.8	(2)	- 3.2
Taking on more responsibility	99*	52.1	(2)	72*	37.9	(6)	-14.2
Giving up spare time	83	43.7	(7)	83	43.7	(4)	0
Keeping quiet about political views	89*	46.8	(5)	74*	38.9	(5)	- 7.9
Working harder than now	86	45.3	(6)	44	23.2	(10)	-22.1
Leaving family for some time	64	33.7	(9)	64	33.7	(7)	0
Keeping quiet about religious views	67*	35.3	(8)	53	27.9	(8)	- 7.4
Moving around country a lot	52	27.4	(10)	47*	24.7	(9)	- 2.7
Endangering health	15	7.9	(11)	8*	4.2	(11)	- 3.7
Total	190	----		190	----		

*These conditions were eliminated from the scales developed using the entire 1960 sample of male household heads and homemakers representing low-income rural counties in seven Southern states.

Table 2. Household Aspiration Level and Status Attainment in 1960

Situational indicators	Level of household aspiration type			
Occupation of head	Lo-Lo	Lo-Hi	Hi-Lo	Hi-Hi
Agriculture related	50.0	45.8	29.5	22.4
White collar	21.7	29.2	29.5	37.9
Blue collar	28.3	25.9	41.0	39.7
Family income				
$1-749 (low)	11.7	27.3	13.6	10.3
750-1499 (low middle)	25.0	22.7	20.5	24.1
1500-3999 (high middle)	33.3	40.9	29.5	37.9
4000 or more (high)	30.0	9.1	36.4	27.6
Social participation				
0-2 (low)	27.9	40.7	25.0	20.7
3-6 (medium)	37.7	33.3	56.8	44.8
7-9 (high)	34.4	25.9	18.2	34.5

Table 3. Household Aspiration Level in 1960 and Attained Status in 1972

Situational indicators	Level of household aspiration type			
Occupation of head	Lo-Lo	Lo-Hi	Hi-Lo	Hi-Hi
Agriculture related	27.9	22.2	15.9	12.1
White collar	3.3	22.2	9.1	12.1
Blue collar	32.8	22.2	45.5	46.6
Retired, disabled, unemployed	36.1	33.3	29.5	29.3
Family income				
$0-2999 (low)	39.0	30.8	25.0	31.0
3000-5999 (low middle)	30.5	38.5	18.2	27.6
6000-8999 (high middle)	13.6	11.5	31.8	32.8
9000 or more (high)	16.9	19.2	25.0	8.6
Social participation				
0-2 (low)	16.4	29.6	25.0	27.6
3-6 (medium)	59.0	37.0	38.6	50.0
7-9 or above (high)	24.6	33.3	36.4	22.4

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A Comparison of Citizen and Leader Perceptions of Selected Quality of Life Indicators*

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Introduction

In 1974 a joint project between the Alabama Cooperative Extension Service and the Agricultural Experiment Station was undertaken to examine public services and economic development in selected rural communities in Alabama. This was a three year project under Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972.

This project was begun in light of the economic decline facing many rural communities in Alabama in the 1970's. Three counties (Clay, Cleburne, and Randolph) were selected primarily on the basis of their demographic and economic characteristics. The counties located in east central Alabama are predominantly rural, have lost population in recent years, have a lower per capita income than the average for the state of Alabama, have low levels of public services such as public water and waste disposal services, and have suffered from out-migration of young and middle-aged people, etc. These conditions all pointed to the need for some form of community development. Much of the project area was located near centers of economic growth in both Alabama and Georgia. The effects of economic change in nearby areas should be felt in these three counties during the next few years. Hence, there was also evidence of the need for careful planning of rural development.

The aim of the present study was to provide certain types of information essential to policy-makers who must make rural development decisions. Specifically, the purpose behind this work was to investigate the impact of community facilities and services on the attitudes of both citizens and leaders towards quality of life.

Literature Review

The basic criterion on which many of the project objectives were based was the quality of life in a respondent's local area. Quality of life is a concept popularized in recent years which is employed to refer to feelings or levels of well-being, happiness, contentment, and satisfaction among people (Coleman, 1975:1). It is a multifaceted concept embracing many aspects of living. Sufficient evidence has been gathered to indicate that there is a wide range of opinion as to what constitutes the content of quality of life. The utility of such a concept is that if it can be adequately and reliably measured, then relative differences in social well-being can be assessed for use in public policy planning and evaluative research (Steelman and Evans, 1976:1).

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*Data reported here were taken from the Title V project (Rural Development Act), Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station.

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There is more than one level at which quality of life can be conceptualized. Is it a combination of incomparable elements such as Gerson (1976:799) has recently suggested in his use of the idea-"patterns of commitment"-by individuals and settings? Or as more commonly utilized, is it an overall feeling to which various variables contribute?

The latter viewpoint is apparent in the conceptual models of Campbell et al. (1976) and Marans and Rodgers (1974). Quality of life is broken down into component "domains" in which decisions are made by the individual concerning satisfaction with various aspects of his or her environment. These decisions are initially determined through awareness of the objective attributes of the particular domain filtered to the individual by his or her perceptions. Assessments are made at this point. Interacting with this decision-making process are personal characteristics and standards of comparison for the particular environmental attributes.

While individual assessments of the various domains of quality of life theoretically result in some global sense of well-being, some measurements of such general concepts have not been very reliable. However, Campbell and associates were able to discover that satisfaction with several domains accounted for a substantial portion of overall well-being (Campbell et al., 1976:95; Marans and Rodgers, 1974:306).

In contrast, Dalkey et al. (1972) utilized an analysis of the interaction between qualities of individual events and "determiners" or properties of the individual. Several models may be formulated, depending on the type of choice behavior assumed, and how behavioral consequences are taken into account. According to the conceptualization of Dalkey et al., quality of life was defined as the extent to which individual psychophysiological needs are met. In the present study, quality of life is interpreted as an overall sense of well-being to which various variables contribute.

Research Procedures

There are two basic approaches to the measurement of quality of life: subjective and objective. It has been substantiated that the objective characteristics of a person's life (e.g. material things, such as income, housing, schools, etc.) and the evaluation of this objective environment by a person are two different entities. On one level, discrepancies between the real situation and an individual's perception of that situation frequently occur, and are the subject of study by many social scientists. On another level, an individual's standard of comparison for evaluating any aspect of his or her life influences the perception of that aspect. Standards of comparison are probably the result of multiple determinants and may differ according to the particular situation. Thus it becomes apparent that objective and subjective indicators of life quality cannot be equated (Marans and Rodgers, 1975:302-303).

In this report the subjective assessments are utilized in a three-county study designed to examine the attitudes of residents in the three project counties towards public services and economic development. Census data were available on certain objective social and economic indicators regarding each county. However, a survey of residents was made which aimed at subjective measurements of the attitudes of three different sectors of the population: (1) elected and appointed officials (at state, federal, and local levels), (2) managers and/or owners of businesses, and (3) household heads or their spouses. The sampling procedures utilized in collecting data for the survey were geographically and demographically representative of the population within each of the three counties. The Census enumeration district was the sampling unit for the household residents and business leaders. A total enumeration of elected and appointed officials, a 30% sample of business firms in each county, and a 2% sample of the household residents was undertaken. The 800 respondents in the study represent approximately 6% of the total number of households in the three-county area.

Demographic Characteristics of the Citizenry

Table 1 shows that the relationship of perceived quality of life to the age distribution of the residents revealed no particular pattern. Most residents ranked the quality of life as fair or poor regardless of age. Sex and race, however, were better predictors of perceived quality of life. Males and nonwhites were more likely to rate the quality of life as fair or poor compared to females and whites. Since the population in the study area is predominantly white, the proportion of nonwhites in the sample was relatively small (12%). However, the tendency of nonwhites to rank the subjective quality of life as lower than whites has been widely documented (Alston et al., 1974; Pieper et al., 1974).

Four other characteristics which are partially indicative of socioeconomic status, occupation of household head, work status of interviewee, type of residence, and type of road on which the residence is located were utilized in order to further describe those persons who subjectively rated their quality of life as high or low. An analysis of the relationship between work status and perceived quality of life showed that those persons fully employed were more likely to rate their quality of life as very good or good than persons employed on a part-time basis or the unemployed or retired. Campbell and associates (1976:313) also found that unemployment status made a definite difference in satisfaction with other aspects of their lives when compared to persons holding full-time jobs. In our study occupation of household head did not significantly distinguish between ratings of levels of quality of life, which substantiates the findings of Singh and Snow (1976).

Type of residence also failed to differentiate between persons rating the quality of life as either high or low, but this result was probably a consequence of the residence patterns of the study area. Most families lived in separated single family dwellings. Also, in rural areas, multi-family dwellings are scarce. A subjective rating by the interviewer of the socioeconomic status of the homes would have been more likely to be positively related to subjective quality of life because it would have differentiated between types of homes to a greater extent. The type of road (paved or not) did significantly distinguish between those persons who had high or low assessments of quality of life. Persons who lived on paved roads had relatively higher assessments of the quality of life when compared to persons who lived on other types of roads. This finding may have been significant because it represents a rather crude measure of socioeconomic status--poorer homes are more likely to be located on unpaved roads than higher status homes.

Comparison of Citizenry and Business and Government Leaders

Some of the demographic information on business and government leaders generally thought to be desirable was unavailable in this study. However, some tentative formulations are possible. Since the majority of the business and government leaders were white males, sex and race would not have been particularly meaningful variables. Age, however, was utilized as a variable for all three sectors, but a statistically significant relationship was observed only for the business leaders. The younger business leaders (under 35) tended to rate quality of life as fair or poor to a greater extent than did either household residents or government officials. Middle-aged and older business respondents had similar responses.

Although no specific socioeconomic measures were employed in this study, occupation was utilized as a control variable for the household and government leader subsamples. For the business managers and owners, level of occupational prestige was fairly uniform. Since the governmental leadership position was not necessarily the only occupation held by a leader, the occupational prestige of the government leaders was measured. A statistically significant relationship was found between occupational prestige and assessments of quality of life for the leader sector: white collar employees were more likely than blue-collar workers to rate the overall quality of life as good or very good. While this same tendency was observed among the household subsample, it was a fairly weak relationship. Since the business leaders were all white-collar workers, it is interesting to note that a smaller proportion of the business owners/managers rated the quality of life as relatively high than did the blue-collar community officials. This analysis thus revealed that while occupational prestige may make a difference among some subsamples, it was not an important explanatory variable.

Quality of Life and Satisfaction with Public Services

General Findings

An analysis of the relationship between perceived quality of life and levels of satisfaction with public services for all three sectors in the study area revealed statistically significant inter-correlations* in several cases, particularly in the business sector (Table 2). No significant relationships emerged for government leaders. For business leaders, solid waste disposal, media, and recreation were positively correlated with quality of life. The only significant relationships that emerged for household respondents were between quality of life and fire protection and welfare. In all cases, the correlations were positive, indicating that persons who ranked the quality of life high also ranked satisfaction with a particular public service as high.

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*These correlations are Spearman's rho rankings which measure the direction and strength of an association between two variables. This does not indicate anything about causation, but only about the differences in ranks between two variables. A statistically significant positive relationship between a public service and quality of life may be interpreted to mean that as the perceptions of quality of life improved for a particular group of people, their rankings of the public service also rose.

In contrast, statistically significant inter-correlations between the perceived change in quality of life during the past several years (whether it had improved or worsened, etc.) and levels of satisfaction with public services for all three sectors were all negative associations, with one exception (Table 2). Also, in this analysis the majority of significant correlations were found in conjunction with the household residents, and no significant relationships emerged for the business sector. Citizens who ranked the quality of life as having improved over time tended to rank satisfaction with solid waste disposal, public schools, and media as low. However, citizens who felt the quality of life had improved over time also were more likely to rank welfare as high. For the government leaders, this relationship was reversed: those who thought that the quality of life had improved tended to rank welfare as low.

Spearman's rho inter-correlations also were utilized in analyzing the relationship between perceived quality of life and satisfaction with public services for all three sectors (household, business, and government leader) in each county (Table 4). The objective of this additional analysis was to determine the extent of consensus among different segments of the population within each county as well as among the same sectors in different counties.

Significant inter-correlations were found between quality of life and measures of public services in a few cases (at the .05 level).* The most striking findings were the large differences in the analysis by county and by region. Data presented in Table 4 reveal the general lack of attitudinal consensus which was reflected within each county and in the region. In Clay County the attitudes of both government and business leaders towards quality of life were significantly correlated with solid waste disposal, and significant correlations between quality of life and other public services were also recorded for the business sector in Clay County.

To some extent the individual county-sector data reflect pre-survey hypotheses about the study area. Clay County was known to be engaged in extensive upgrading of the primary services of water, sewers, and solid waste. Most of the development effort was being implemented by government and business leaders. Hence, awareness of activity concerning various public services and their importance to perceived quality of life may have resulted in these correlations. Awareness levels, however, are not sufficient to account for the inconsistencies in correlation coefficients between sectors.

A general lack of significant correlations prevailed among respondents relative to quality of life and certain public services. For example, there were no instances in which health services were significantly correlated with quality of life. This was a surprising finding since health services typically are thought to be an important component of life quality. Another study (Pieper et al., 1974:6) found that the community leaders were generally less favorable in their assessments of health care than the household residents, which may be explained by differing standards of need. Objective standards document a need for expansion of health services in the three study counties, especially in Cleburne County, but apparently these needs were not reflected in the quality of life measure.

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*Other significant relationships emerged at lower levels of probability. While these findings have limited usefulness in building models of the components of quality of life, they still may have important policy implications for local leaders.

Relationships between other public services and quality of life were rather mixed. Expectations that school satisfaction would be an important factor for all respondents were dispelled. Only in Clay County did significant relationships between public schools and quality of life exist and the direction of association was reversed for those sectors (Table 4). Little could be said about the remaining services in any area.

Urban-Rural Assessments of Life Quality Aspects

There was a marked contrast between the responses of the three survey sectors in both rural and urban-type growth areas (Table 5). Yet, there were no substantive differences between urban and rural responses. For example, over 90% of the rural leaders and 85% of the urban leaders felt that the quality of life was improved or much improved. However, over 50% of both urban and rural household heads felt that quality of life was worse or much worse. Most business respondents (over 80%) felt that conditions were improved (Table 6). Why was there such a division between household residents and government and business leaders? A portion of the attitude variation was accounted for by the observation that over 30% of the rural government leaders and business managers felt that conditions were still only fair although improvement has occurred. As expected more urban than rural respondents, except householders, thought life quality was at least good (Table 7).

To determine specifically what was causing the variation in responses among sectors, the inter-correlations between sector attitudes and services were calculated. The typical hypothesis is that urban areas, even relatively small communities, are equipped to provide more and better services to the public than rural areas, thus resulting in different levels of community satisfaction. The correlation analysis provided only minimum support for this hypothesis in the three county study area. A more likely explanation is that in rural areas, many so-called "public" services are actually provided on a private basis either due to personal preference or non-availability. This absence of some primary services may be partially responsible for the low magnitude of correlation coefficients and the general lack of significant relationships between satisfaction with public services and perceived quality of life, especially in the analyses in which the separate effects of residence or county are not considered. Specific findings taking into account urban-rural residence are summarized in Table 5.

In summary, the differences between the three sectors (household residents, government leaders, and business leaders) in the three counties are more impressive than the similarities. The lack of uniformity between groups in different counties attests to definite dissimilarities between conditions in the three counties. Within-county differences were noteworthy also by type of sector. Not only were statistically significant relationships between a particular aspect of life and the general quality of life lacking among different sectors in the same county, or among the same sectors in different counties, but in a few cases where significant correlations emerged among similar groups, the direction of the relationship was reversed (e.g. business leaders vs. household residents of Clay County in regard to public schools and the quality of life).

The utilization of place of residence (rural vs. urban) as a control condition produced useful results. In some cases, specification occurred and frequently resulted in a strengthening of the relationship among the rural segment and the disappearance of the relationship among the urban residents.

In other cases, the use of place of residence caused the original correlation to disappear entirely. Also, a few new inter-correlations emerged between particular aspects of public services and utilities and the general quality of life.

Prediction of Quality of Life

Multiple regression and the derivation of the statistic R^2 (the square of the multiple correlation coefficient) from linear models of the relevant variables were utilized in order to evaluate further the relationship between quality of life and satisfaction with public services. For the complete model, the largest R^2's were associated with the following groups: the household residents of Clay County (23% predictability), and Cleburne County (27%), the business owners/managers of Clay County (40%) and the government leaders of Clay County (35%), Cleburne County (76%), and Randolph County (60%) (Table 8). Thus, it was far easier to predict subjective feelings of quality of life among the government officials from levels of satisfaction with public services than among the citizenry. Considering that demographic variables were utilized as independent variables in the household model and not in the models of business or government leaders, it becomes apparent that satisfaction with public services was a more essential component in the quality of life for the government leaders than for the ordinary resident of these rural communities.

In searching for any particular variables that seemed to stand out as contributing the most towards the prediction of feelings of quality of life, water services and solid waste disposal were the largest contributors for the government leaders (in all counties). Interaction effects were minimal. In attempting to find a substantively meaningful limited model, it was hypothesized that those services which could be provided on a private basis (such as septic tanks in lieu of sewage, dumping instead of solid waste disposal) versus services that were strictly public (telephone, media, etc.) might be a relevant distinction between satisfaction levels. However, statistically this hypothesis could not be substantiated, either by predictive ability from a regression model or through factor analysis.

Conclusion

In this study several statistical techniques were utilized to examine the relationship between perceived quality of life and satisfaction with different types of public services. The findings seem to support the theoretical proposition that levels of satisfaction are the result of multiple determinants which differ over time and according to circumstances. Different issues or domains in life assume importance at certain periods and diminish in importance as other aspects become crucial to subjective feelings of quality of life. These issues differ between sub-groups as well as between individuals. In this analysis, the community leaders seemed to reflect a broader outlook on issues in the county while the household residents took a more particularistic perspective. The business owners/managers seemed to take a middle position in many cases.

While none of the measures of satisfaction with different types of public services, either singly or in association with other measures, were especially predictive of subjective quality of life, the measures of public utilities such as water services, sewage services and especially solid waste disposal did stand out as making the largest contributions to the prediction of quality of life. The low degree of predictability of quality of life from satisfaction with public services does not necessarily imply either that satisfaction levels were generally high or that felt needs do not exist among these communities. A majority of respondents did indicate that most public services were less than adequate, or did not exist. Satisfaction levels however, are not in themselves indicators of felt needs. In many rural areas, needs for public utilities are met on a private basis.

The comparison of results between perceived quality of life and quality of life over time revealed considerable difference between correlates of the two dependent variables. Generally citizens who ranked the quality of life as having improved over the past several years were more likely than persons who thought that the quality of life had changed for the worst to exhibit low levels of satisfaction with certain public services. Current rankings of quality of life revealed that the business owners/managers who ranked the quality of life high also ranked satisfaction with a particular public service as high.

Generally the differences between the three sectors (household residents, government leaders, and business owners/managers) in each county as revealed in the relationship between subjective feelings of quality of life and satisfaction levels with public services affirms definite dissimilarities between specific attitudes in the three counties. There were also substantial differences among the same sectors in different counties, indicating the absence of a basis for regional consensus.

The policy implications of this study are not clear-cut. It is evident, however, that despite the social and economic characteristics shared in common among the three counties, perceptions of the adequacy of public services as related to overall feelings of quality of life varied considerably. This indicates that generalizations about a region based only on objective criteria are hazardous. Apparently the following factors are all important determinants of the ways in which levels of satisfaction with public services affects the quality of life: 1) differential access to resources (availability vs. nonavailability of public services), 2) differences in perspective, as exhibited by leaders with a universalistic outlook or citizens with a particularistic outlook, and 3) differences in personal characteristics, such as sex, race, etc.

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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Citizenry and Perceived Quality of Life

1) Age of Citizen	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
Under 35	51	49
35-50	43	57
over 50	45	55
Total Numbers	(198)	(231)

$X^2 = 1.60$, NS
Kendall's Tau C = 0.04, NS

2) Sex of Citizen	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
Male	38	62
Female	53	47
Total Numbers	(200)	(228)

$X^2 = 9.18$, $p < .01$
Tau B = -0.15, $p < .001$

3) Race of Citizen	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
White	50	50
Nonwhite	21	79
Total Numbers	(199)	(229)

$X^2 = 14.95$, $p < .0001$
Tau B = 0.19, $p < .0001$

4) Work Status	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
Employed full time	54	46
Employed part time	40	60
Unemployed or retired	40	60
Total Numbers	(192)	(214)

$X^2 = 8.07$, $p < .02$
Tau C = 0.14, $p < .01$

5) Occupation	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
White-collar	60	40
Blue-collar	48	52
Total Numbers	(123)	(121)

$X^2 = 2.21$, NS
Tau B = 0.11, $p < .05$

6) Type of Residence	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
Mobile home	35	65
House or apartment	48.5	51.5
Total Numbers	(200)	(229)

$X^2 = 3.26$, NS
Tau B = -0.09, NS

7) Type of Road	Quality of Life High % Responses	Quality of Life Low % Responses
Paved	48	52
Other	30	70
Total Numbers	(199)	(229)

$X^2 = 4.38$, $p < .05$
Tau B = 0.11, $p < .01$

Table 2

PERCEPTIONS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC SERVICES IN THREE RURAL ALABAMA COUNTIES BY SECTOR (SPEARMAN'S RHO)*

	HOUSEHOLDERS	GOVERNMENT LEADERS	BUSINESS LEADERS
Water			
Sewage			
Solid Waste Disposal			0.238 (243)
Health			
Public Schools			
Telephone			
Energy			
Fire Protection	0.157 (316)		
Welfare	0.111 (345)		
Law Enforcement			
Media			0.164 (263)
Recreation			0.158 (203)
Libraries			
Adult Education			

Table 3

PERCEIVED CHANGE IN QUALITY OF LIFE AND SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC SERVICES IN THREE RURAL ALABAMA COUNTIES BY SECTOR (SPEARMAN'S RHO)*

	HOUSEHOLDERS	GOVERNMENT LEADERS	BUSINESS LEADERS
Water			
Sewage			
Solid Waste Disposal	-0.111 (355)		
Health			
Public Schools	-0.159 (358)		
Telephone			
Energy			
Fire Protection			
Welfare	0.193 (345)	-0.231 (107)	
Law Enforcement			
Media	-0.165 (428)		
Recreation			
Libraries			
Adult Education			

*All rank correlations are significant at the .05 level or above.

Table 4

PERCEPTIONS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC SERVICES IN THREE RURAL ALABAMA COUNTIES

(Spearman's rho)*

	Clay County			Cleburne County			Randolph County		
	Householders	Govt. Leaders	Business Leaders	Householders	Govt. Leaders	Business Leaders	Householders	Govt. Leaders	Business Leaders
Water									
Sewage	0.371 (29)		0.279 (51)						
Solid waste disposal		0.330 (49)	0.471 (63)						0.242 (122)
Public transportation									
Health									
Public schools	-0.204 (110)		0.254 (77)						
Telephone								0.423 (32)	
Energy									
Fire protection				0.366 (60)				-0.355 (31)	
Welfare									
Law enforcement									
Media			0.339 (78)						
Recreation									0.334 (104)
Libraries					0.435 (26)				
Adult Education					0.463 (27)				

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*All rank correlations are significant at the .05 level or above.

Table 5
PERCEPTION OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC SERVICES IN THREE RURAL ALABAMA COUNTIES
(Spearman's rho)*

Rural vs. Urban Differentials

	Clay County						Cleburne County						Randolph County					
	Householders		Govt. Leaders		Business Leaders		Householders		Govt. Leaders		Business Leaders		Householders		Govt. Leaders		Business Leaders	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Water																		
Sewage		0.371 (29)																
Solid waste disposal			0.570 (13)														0.267 (71)	
Public transportation																		
Health							0.301 (56)											
Public schools																		
Telephone							-0.228 (79)								-0.465 (19)			
Energy																	0.261 (73)	
Fire protection				-0.356 (35)			0.434 (34)					0.448 (22)						0.289 (52)
Welfare																		
Law enforcement							0.230 (75)											
Media					0.380 (31)													
Recreation																	0.556 (54)	
Libraries																0.544 (13)		
Adult education																		

*All rank correlations are significant at the .05 level or above.

Table 6

Urban-Rural Assessments of Perceived Change in Quality of Life
(Percentages)

	Urban Residence				Rural Residence			
Responses	Leaders	Business	Household	Total	Leaders	Business	Household	Total
Much improved	14.3	12.9	8.0	10.8	1.9	16.8	6.6	9.2
Improved	73.0	76.6	33.9	55.4	90.4	65.7	34.1	50.3
No change	12.7	8.9	7.5	8.9	5.8	9.5	7.8	8.1
Worse	--	1.6	43.1	21.3	1.9	7.3	42.6	27.1
Much Worse	--	--	7.5	3.6	--	.007	8.9	5.7
Total	100.0(63)	100.0(124)	100.0(174)	100.0(361)	100.0(52)	100.0(137)	100.0(258)	100.0(447)

Table 7

Urban-Rural Assessments of Quality of Life
(Percentages)

	Urban Residence				Rural Residence			
Responses	Leaders	Business	Household	Total	Leaders	Business	Household	Total
Very good	28.6	16.7	9.8	15.5	11.5	12.9	7.8	9.8
Good	63.5	54.8	40.5	49.5	55.8	46.8	36.3	41.8
Fair	7.9	26.2	38.2	28.7	30.8	34.5	39.0	36.7
Poor	--	2.4	11.6	6.4	1.9	5.8	17.0	11.8
Total	100.0(63)	100.0(26)	100.0(73)	100.0(362)	100.0(52)	100.0(139)	100.0(259)	100.0(450)

Actual questions used: In general and on the average how has the overall quality of life for most local people changed during the past several years?
In general, how would you rate the quality of life?

Table 8

Quality of Life
Multiple Regression of Quality of Life By Levels of Satisfaction with Selected Public Services

Variables	Household Residents			Government Leaders			Business Leaders		
	Clay County	Cleburne County	Randolph County	Clay County	Cleburne County	Randolph County	Clay County	Cleburne County	Randolph County
	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Age	0.121	-0.035	-0.103	0.326*	0.072	-0.108	-0.005	-0.060	0.052
Male (Sex)	0.226	0.149	0.218						
White (Race)	-0.475	-0.897*	-0.202						
Occupation	0.017	-0.033	0.026	0.009	0.123*	-0.011			
Work Status	-0.092	0.158*	0.108						
Type of Residence	0.181	0.000	-0.503						
Type of Road	0.148	-0.010	0.231						
Water	-0.263	-0.760	0.132	0.169	0.357	0.008	-0.122	0.053	0.190
Sewage	0.358	0.000	-0.166	-0.596	-1.124*	-0.375	0.376	-0.335	-0.351
Health	0.058	0.080	-0.178	-0.123	0.724*	0.248	-0.205	-0.079	-0.005
Schools	-0.278	0.000	-0.143	0.151	-0.254	0.310	0.311	-0.182	-0.086
Recreation	0.490	0.021	0.204	0.354	-0.507*	0.014	-0.259	-0.187	0.517*
Telephone	0.192	-0.187	-0.012	-0.044	-0.067	-0.510	0.087	-0.484	-0.095
Media	0.041	0.177	-0.191	-0.085	0.093	-0.149	0.919*	0.547	0.150
Energy	-0.333	-0.014	-1.743	0.606	0.544	0.394	0.699	-0.851	0.429
Solid Waste Disposal	0.359	-0.100	-0.017	0.372	-0.835*	-0.193	0.690*	-0.056	0.371*
Fire Protection	0.263	0.356	0.164	0.062	-0.056	-0.175	0.023	0.413	0.068
Library	-0.147	-0.041	0.123	-0.178	-0.165	0.446			
Adult Education	0.194	0.094	-0.042	-0.134	0.758*	0.002			
Welfare	-0.037	0.159	0.112	-0.070	-0.226	-0.211			
Law Enforcement	-0.216	0.183	0.140						
Public Transportation		-0.190			0.448	-0.446			0.394
R^2	0.232	0.268	0.147	0.350	0.764	0.599	0.396	0.169	0.198

* statistically significant at .05 level or above

DIFFERENTIAL PERCEPTION OF CHANGE BY LIFE CYCLE STAGES: A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

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Various social indicators have been used as proxy measures of quality of life, where quality of life was considered a dependent variable. The independent variables traditionally have consisted of such items as age, sex, income and other socio economic variables. These independent variables have been assumed to illustrate in some way the individual's relative position in the social structure. An alternative to these individual measures is a summary measure which encompasses the dimensions tapped by each of the individual measures. The issue addressed in this paper is the way in which the independent variable of life cycle relates to subjective assessments of life satisfaction or quality of life. The variable, life cycle, incorporates many of the components of the previously mentioned independent variables as well as containing, at least implicitly, certain other structural factors omitted by the more traditional independent variables. Namely, stage of life cycle also includes the notions of life crises which occur during certain of these stages, one's position in the social structure, and implicitly the opportunities available to the individual. It is the position of this paper that life cycle will be indicative of the respondents location in the social structure, that is, it will index the size of the respondents active role repertoire, which will, at least in part, index the respondents assessment of certain domains pertaining to his quality of life.

Extensive interest in social reporting to describe the changing status of society can be traced at least to 1933 with the publication of Recent Social Trends in the United States (President's Research Committee on Social Trends). Many measures pertaining to quality of life, drawn mainly from the decennial census or other forms of governmental reporting have become the standard fare of the sociologist's reportoire of data. Such individuals as Bauer, 1966; Sheldon and Moore, 1968; and Duncan, 1969 have been pressing for an extension and refinement of these measures and for a more comprehensive program of documenting social change longitudinally on a national scale. The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1970 began considering the content of a "social report" which might eventually be prepared as a parallel to the Economic Report to the President. The Statistical Office of the Office of Management and Budget issued its first comprehensive report on social indicators in 1973 (Executive Office of the President: Office of Management and Budget). The measures which appear in these social reports deal with population growth and movement, marital status, unemployment and labor-force participation, health and health care, housing, education, leisure time, crime and the administration of justice. These measures are more or less classified as being "objective" in the sense that they do not require a personal evaluation from a respondent. Furthermore, the units are relatively easily defined and counted. These objective measures vary regarding their reliability due to reporting errors. It would logically follow that these "objective" measures would then be used to generate some norm, of a statistical nature upon which the general quality of life could be assessed.

We would like to suggest, however, that these "objective" measures may or may not be relevant to how these conditions are subjectively perceived, or upon which actual behavior is based by the residents of any area under study. Further, it would seem that the exclusive use of these objective measures represents some form of raw empiricism which has no theoretical basis and is therefore less amenable to the accumulation of knowledge. Toward this end, this study represents a step in identifying relevant structural variables which operate on the assessment of quality of life by the people under study.

Theoretical Prespective

One of the major factors which has inhibited the utilization of either objective or subjective social indicators is that they generally have not been used within the framework of some systematic view of society. This has placed the problem solving and identification nature of the social indicator studies at a distinct disadvantage. In an attempt to avoid this problem we shall be using the systems model of society as advanced by Bates and Harvey (1975).

It is generally agreed that, as the individual progresses through the life stages, he is socialized to perform various roles within specific group and organizational contexts. Many of these roles are internalized by the individual prior to his actually needing or using them. These roles remain in the latent state until they are prescribed for use. The activation or deactivation of large sets of roles represents "life crises." Bates and Harvey state,

> During the lifetime of the individual, at certain critical points on the age scale, his relationship to society is drastically altered, and the structure of his station in society undergoes a major change. Such changes create crises for the individual because they are accompanied by major shifts in the behavior he performs in the social system. In terms of station structure, this means that, at a life crisis, a sudden increase or decrease in the number of positions and roles contained within the person's station occurs. A significant number of new potential positions are activated; a significant number of currently occupied, regularly activated positions are kept in a constant state of latency; or a significant number of positions are deactivated on a permanent basis. Some life crises involve all three conditions. (1975, p. 270)

There are hypothetically six life stages: infancy, childhood, adolesence, adulthood, middle age and old age. These stages relate rather closely with the stages of family cycle used in the S-79 project. Within these are life crises which alter dramatically the relationship of the individual to society or the social units related to him. These life crises are: birth, school entrance, adolesence, graduation, entry into employment, marriage, parenthood, retirement and death.

The concepts of stage of cycle and life crises have been introduced to illustrate that any general or aggregate measure of life satisfaction cannot take into account the respondent's placement in the social structure and the structural effects of the process of aging on that placement. The relationship between stage of life cycle and life satisfaction should operate such that respondents should be the most concerned with domains which are germaine to the resolving of the life crises pertaining to their stage in the life cycle. Those domains which are of centrality to the respondent due to his or her structural placement will be accorded more scrutiny than those domains which are no longer or which have not yet become germaine. We should be able, on the basis of present knowledge, to assert the relative centrality of certain life satisfaction domains for particular life stages. In other words, the relationship between stage of life cycle and life satisfaction should operate such that repondents should demonstrate a concern with those domains which are germaine to the requirements of that stage of the life cycle or the life crises which are to be met. The mechanism by which this operates has been suggested by Emerson (1972) as well as others dealing with the social psychological aspects of exchange. Briefly, Emerson suggests that with the broadening of opportunities there is a rising level of expectations. We might also suggest that this should be reflected by a heightened level of interest in certain domains and be expressed in terms of more extreme responses. Emerson further suggests that, to the degree to which these expectations outstrip their realization, there will be less expressed life satisfaction.

In the earlier stages from infancy to adulthood, new role relationships are developing. Also during these stages the majority of the roles which the individual has acquired are not deactivated on a permanent basis. As suggested earlier, with this broadening of roles is the broadening of opportunities within the social structure and thus expectations should also show an increase. The kinds of domains which are pertinent to these stages of the life cycle (characterized as being under thirty-five years of age, married or unmarried, but having no children) are concerns with jobs and opportunities for the young, the county as a place to live, and recreation.

During middle age a person reaches the peak number of role sets or positions within society. The life crises of birth, school entrance, adolescence, graduation and employment, marriage and parenthood have been accomplished by our respondent, but he again faces these in terms of his family. Retirement and death remain as the life crises to be dealt with. We have conceptualized our sample as having two such middle aged groups. The first of these tends to be younger than the second with children between the ages of one and nine. This group probably has not reached the peak of their role set per se, however, they are rapidly approaching it. The domain concerns of this group mostly pertain to family and family maintenance functions such as: continued employment, the schools for their children and, since they are young with young children, they are probably interested or concerned with recreational facilities. The second group of middle aged are less than fifty-nine years of age with children which range in ages from ten to adulthood. This stage, more than the previous middle age category, has reached the peak number of role sets or positions within society. Since these persons are older they are probably most interested in the domains which pertain to health care and opportunities for older people.

The "old age" stage in the life cycle is characterized in the structural sense by the diminuation of the number of role sets in which they must participate. The opportunity to activate their complete complement of roles has diminished. Emerson suggests that, that which is inaccessible will tend to be devalued (1972, p.56). This would suggest that persons in this stage should be the most satisfied in that they have stopped expecting that which is inaccessible due to their placement in the social system, or their station. This position is empirically substantiated by the findings of Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976), and by Pieper and Miller (1974). This group should be most concerned with domains which pertain to their survival as old people, such as welfare and other governmental agencies of the like.

Hypotheses

1. Those persons in life stage category 1 will demonstrate more extreme responses to items pertaining to : opportunities for the young, the county as a place to live, and recreation.

2. Those persons in life stage category 2 will demonstrate more extreme responses to items pertaining to : employment, schools and recreation.

3. Those persons in life stage category 3 will demonstrate more extreme responses to items pertaining to: health care and opportunities for older persons.

4. Those persons in life stage category 4 will demonstrate more extreme responses to items pertaining to: welfare and government.

A limited test of these hypotheses was attempted utilizing a data set which had been collected in conjunction with the S-79 Regional project relating to the quality of life in rural South. The present sample is a subset of 25 counties comprising the entire S-79 sample. The decision to utilize a single county as the sample rather than all of the counties was made in order to minimize the effects of county differentials in quality of life.

The specific quality of life items used in the study are also a subset of the larger list of items relating to quality of life presented in the S-79 schedule. The items used were based on the rationale that they represented those quality of life situations which would be most easily affected through structural intervention; e.g., through various local, state or federal programs. Specifically, the items included related to perceptions of the quality of government, educational opportunities, health services, welfare, lawlessness, job opportunities, recreation, housing opportunities for the young, old and a general evaluation of the county.

Life cycle stages were defined as follows:
Stage 1: Head under 35 with no children
Stage 2: Respondents with children no older than 9
Stage 3: Respondents with children older than 9
Stage 4: Respondents aged over 35 with no children

Responses to quality of life items were scored as follows: (1) "getting worse" (2) about the same (3) getting better.

Analysis of the Data

Each of the quality of life items was cross-tabulated with life cycle stage and tests of significance were performed. There were no significant differences between life cycle stages for any of the quality of life items. The lack of statistically significant differences however, does not mean that there were no differences in the responses of individuals at various stages in the life cycle. There were strong indications that life cycle could indeed be a good predictor in assessing the evaluation of particular quality of life domains.

Across all quality of life items the most positive average response pattern was set by the individuals in stage two of the family cycle, stages one and four in the life cycle had very similar intermediate responses while the most unfavorable average response pattern was generated by the individuals in the third (middle age) stage of the life cycle. Those individuals in stage one of the life cycle tended to rate the quality of government, job opportunities, recreation and housing more highly than the other groups. Individuals in the second life stage viewed the quality of education, health services, welfare and situations for both the young and the old more favorably than the other life cycle stages. Life cycle stage three, while having the lowest overall rating across all variables rated the general appraisal of the county substantially higher than the other life cycle stages. The individuals in the fourth life cycle category rated only the quality of law enforcement higher than the other categories. (See Table 1)

Summary

Life stage category 1 had the most extreme scores of the life stage categories for the domains pertaining to educational opportunities beyond high school for people in the county, welfare programs (tied with category #4); obedience to the laws (tied with category #2) opportunities for young people; and the county as a place to live. These are the domains in which category 1 had the lowest extreme score. They had the highest extreme score for the domains of quality of county government; job opportunities; recreation and provision of good housing.

Life stage category 2 expressed the lowest scores over all other life stage categories for: obedience to the law (tied with #1); and recreation. They recorded the highest in the domains pertaining to educational opportunities past high school; health services; welfare programs; opportunities for the young and opportunities for older persons.

Life stage category 3 recorded the lowest scores among the categories for the domains of: health services, job opportunities and opportunities for older persons. They were the highest for the county as a place to live. The life stage category 4 respondents recorded the lowest mean responses for the domains; quality of government; provision of good housing, and welfare programs. Of the life stage categories, their mean response was the highest for obedience to the law, that is, they felt that most people were obedient to the law.

Conclusions

It is suggested by the content, number and disposition of these ratings, that they reflect the hypothesized kinds of structural expectations these life cycle categories should have. They seem to parallel the kinds of crises and concerns that are appropriate for people in the life cycle stages as we have conceptualized them. Thus, lack of statistical significance should not be confused with lack of social and theoretical significance. Lack of statistical significance can be accounted for in two ways: (1) the size of the sample and, (2) the measure of life cycle as we have operationalized it here is too gross of a measure. With regard to this second point, the operationalization of life cycle is too gross of a measure due to the fact that some of the respondents in a particular stage are just entering structurally related crises and others are emerging from the crises, thus we should expect variations within each category which diminishes the measured impact of the crises. The concept of life cycle should be operationalized such that the cycle stage obtains to some particular life crisis.

Of particular note are the implications of our findings rather than the findings themselves. It has been demonstrated that one's placement in the social structure is related to evaluations of particular domains of the social environment. The combination of these various domains into one category potentially leads to misinterpretation of data since structural differences and the structurally related evaluations of respondents are no longer taken into account. Thus, a structural model of society is required to mitigate such problems and frame the interpretations of both subjective and objective measures of quality of life. Such a model as developed by Bates and Harvey seems to be sustained by our findings.

What remains is to fine tune the model and the operations we use to determine quality of life. In this way the accumulation of knowledge about how individuals perceive and relate to their physical and social environment can be accomplished. From an applied perspective the structural systems approach would be fruitful in that the needs of community residents as segments would be more adequately perceived and addressed by weighting the subjective assessments by such a structural variable as position in the life cycle.

Table 1. Mean responses to quality of life domains by stage of life cycle.

	Mean for .Life Cycle Stages
Government (1.69)	
1	1.75
2	1.69
3	1.73
4	1.65
Ed. Opportunities (1.80)	
1	1.64
2	1.94
3	1.76
4	1.82
Health Services (1.78)	
1	1.73
2	1.94
3	1.52
4	1.89
Welfare (1.94)	
1	1.90
2	2.00
3	1.95
4	1.90
Lawlessness (2.10)	
1	1.91
2	1.91
3	2.18
4	2.23
Job Opportunities (2.52)	
1	2.82
2	2.60
3	2.33
4	2.50
Recreation (2.30)	
1	2.63
2	2.21
3	2.27
4	2.25
Housing (2.54)	
1	2.73
2	2.50
3	2.58
4	2.42
Young (2.31)	
1	2.09
2	2.56
3	2.11
4	2.41
Old (2.56)	
1	2.60
2	2.75
3	2.22
4	2.68

		Mean for Life Cycle Stages
County (2.60)		
	1	2.50
	2	2.53
	3	2.68
	4	2.60

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RESIDENCE AS A FACTOR IN LONGEVITY: A STUDY OF LOUISIANIANS*

by

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Introduction

The remarkable increase in life span in this country since the turn of the century has significantly increased the numbers and proportion of older people in the population. This in turn has increased interest in aging research in general and prediction of longevity in particular. In fact, the search for longer life seems to be universal throughout history and in most societies. It is related to the basic drive for self-preservation, without which no individual or group will survive very long.

In addition to the above there is another practical interest in longevity. This is the "theoretical" premise that longevity research may be a key to unlock the mysteries of human aging processes and the finite life span. By identifying factors related to early death or to longevity, better theories for understanding the basic aging processes may be developed. This research was designed to especially shed light on the differences in longevity of persons living in rural and urban areas.

The Concept of Rural-Urban Differentiation in Social Relations

It has been widely noted that farm folk differ from urban people, and that rural society differs from urban society, principally because of the different environments impinging upon these populations (Bertrand, 1958:25-33). Environmental factors and conditions influence behavior and account in large part for contrasting patterns of behavior in rural and urban populations (Smith, 1953:15-71; Duncan and Reiss, 1956:1; Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929: 13-58; Loomis and Beegle, 1950; Spaulding, 1951:33; Haer, 1952:343; Kolb and Brunner, 1952:chapter 1; Landis, 1948:chapters 5-7; Nelson, 1955:chapter 2). George Braclay (1958:159) points out that urban conditions have created a less favorable environment for man, and that urban death rates have become higher. Studies have been initiated in several countries with a view to ascertaining the influence of environmental and social factors on the life span of man but little conclusive evidence is yet available (Ciuca, 1967; Blenker, 1967). This fact provided the specific rationale for the study reported in this paper. It was hypothesized that rural-urban differences applied to longevity as well as to other types of relationships (Shock, 1951: 45; Buckley and Schmidt, 1974:24-25; Newcomer, 1976:178-189). Tests for this hypothesis were developed with the focus on the relation of longevity to residence. Consideration was also given to the variables of sex, race, and marital status. In essence, this paper was designed to provide knowledge relative to differential longevity in Louisiana and to determine the role of selected environmental conditions on longevity.

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Research Procedures

Research Setting. The setting for the present study was the State of Louisiana. The source of data were the Certificate of Deaths on file with the Louisiana State Bureau of Vital Statistics. The period covered by the study was 1962 to 1974. Because of the size of the N, every third year during the period was used as a sample year, that is, 1962, 1965, 1968, 1971, and 1974.

Population. The population universe for the study consisted of all those persons 65 or over who died in Louisiana between 1962 and 1974. The specific criteria for inclusion in the population was determined by the following characteristics: 1) people over 65 years of age, 2) Louisiana resident at time of death, and 3) death not due to external violence (i.e., accident, suicide, and homicide). Altogether, 14,420 deaths of persons over 65 were recorded in 1962, 15,528 in 1965, 16,207 in 1968, 16,018 in 1971, and 16,893 in 1974.

Analytical Procedures. For this report, longevity was defined as the age at death. Individuals were divided into three groups as follows: those persons who died between age 65 to 72, defined as having a low level of longevity; those persons who died between the ages of 73 and 80, defined as having a medium level of longevity; and those persons who died after reaching 81 years of age defined as having a high level of longevity.

The data analysis was not complicated, each independent variable utilized (sex, race, marital status, and residence) was related to the dependent variable, longevity. The Chi Square test was used as a measure of statistical significance for each test made (Leonard, 1976:176; Blalock, 1972:275). Analysis of the dependent and independent variable interrelationships were accomplished through the use of frequency tables. A comparison was made of the importance of each independent variable (sex, race, and marital status) in accounting for the dependent variable longevity, while controlling for residence. The Chi Square test was used as a measure of statistical significance for each such comparison.

Findings

Because of the page limitation for papers, the detailed findings for all sample years will not be presented, although 1962 will be used as an example. However, the means of difference and the t-test for each sample years will be presented.

To test the hypothesis that the longevity of aged persons differed according to residence, and by sex, race, and marital status, a t-test was applied. Using a two-tailed test, the value obtained ($t=4.09$) was significant at the .01 level ($p<.01$). Table 1 and 3 show the results of the t-test for each variable.

Table 1. Residence Differentials in Longevity Among the Louisiana Aged by Selected Years, 1962-1974

Year	D.F.	t Values	p level
1962	13,297	4.091	.01
1965	14,346	5.749	.01
1968	14,869	3.463	.01
1971	14,799	2.903	.01
1974	15,536	-0.713	.48

The null hypothesis of no significant difference between rural and urban residence and longevity had to be rejected on the basis of the findings shown in Table 1. For all the years tested there was a significant difference in longevity between persons living in rural and urban areas. The data presented in Table 2 elaborates the finding that Louisiana rural people lived longer than urban persons once they had attained aged 65. Specifically, it can be seen in Table 2 that only 33.8 percent of the rural aged were in the low longevity group, compared to 36.8 percent of the urban aged. By contrast there were 34.2 percent of the rural aged in the medium longevity group as contrasted with 33.7 percent of the urban aged. The highest longevity group included 32 percent of all the persons aged 65 and over with rural residence but only 29.5 percent of the urban aged.

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Louisiana Rural and Urban Aged by Level of Longevity, 1962

	Rural		Urban	
Level of Longevity	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low (65-72 years)	2011	(33.8)	3115	(36.8)
Medium (73-80 years)	2033	(34.2)	2856	(33.7)
High (81 years and over)	1907	(32.0)	2498	(29.5)
Total	5951	(100.0)	8469	(100.0)

$X^2 = 16.416$, d.f. = 2, $p<.001$.

The next step in the analysis was to test for an association between level of longevity, and the variables: 1) sex, 2) race, and 3) marital status. Table 3 shows that there were significant differences in these characteristic between the rural and urban population in Louisiana aged 65 and over. Chi Square coefficients were computed, with the residence variable controlled. Table 4 presents the results of the computations made.

Table 3. Sex, Race and Marital Status Differentials, by Residence (Rural and Urban) Among the Aged in Louisiana by Selected Years, 1962-1974

Year	D.F.	t Value		
		Sex	Race	Marital Status
1962	13,297	-9.192*	3.509*	-3.414*
1965	14,346	-5.261*	-0.319	-2.004**
1968	14,869	-7.670*	-0.604	-3.749*
1971	14,799	-5.983*	-3.727*	-4.066*
1974	15,536	-7.738*	-9.250*	-3.885*

*Significant at the .01 level using two-tailed test.
**Significant at the .05 level using two-tailed test.

Table 4. Residence Differentials in Level of Longevity by Sex, Race, and Marital Status for Aged in Louisiana, by Selected Years, 1962-1974

Type of Control	Chi Square Coefficients		
	Sex	Race	Marital Status
1962 Not Controlling Residence	210.02a	243.03a	1043.04b
Controlling Residence	242.50c	267.57c	1098.87d
1965 Not Controlling Residence	247.05a	217.27a	1137.84b
Controlling Residence	291.59c	265.50c	1200.58d
1968 Not Controlling Residence	246.72a	185.54a	1247.81b
Controlling Residence	329.97c	234.79c	1292.98d
1971 Not Controlling Residence	377.80a	133.88a	1311.65b
Controlling Residence	391.95c	155.79c	1340.67d
1974 Not Controlling Residence	526.17a	88.84a	1524.73b
Controlling Residence	531.01c	115.99c	1532.32d

a--with 2 d.f. b--with 4 d.f. c--with 6 d.f.
d--with 10 d.f.
All the above X^2 were significant at the .001 level.

As can be seen in Table 4, longevity was significantly associated with Sex, Race and Marital Status among the Louisiana aged population in 1962. The same general pattern persisted in the other years studied. Each of these characteristics is considered in turn in the discussion which follows.

If sex is considered first, it can be seen in Table 5 that sex of the aged person was positively associated with level of longevity ($X^2 = 210.02$).

Interestingly, in the low level of longevity category, relatively more males than females were represented. This suggest correctly that the Louisiana female aged have a longer life-span than do the males of the State.

Table 5. Sex and Level of Longevity of Louisiana Aged, 1962 (N=14420)

Level of Longevity	Sex			
	Male		Female	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low (65-72 years)	3005	(40.2)	2121	(30.5)
Medium (73-80 years)	2535	(33.9)	2354	(33.9)
High (81 years and over)	1927	(25.8)	2478	(35.6)
Total	7467	(100.0)	6953	(100.0)

$X^2 = 210.02$, d.f. = 2, $p<.001$.

In order to determine whether or not residences make any difference in the above pattern, the residence variable was controlled, as shown in Table 6. The results of this test show that residence is associated with longevity regardless of sex. Louisiana urbanites, no matter whether male or female, had a shorter life-span than their rural aged counterparts in 1962.

Table 6. Longevity of Louisiana Aged by Sex and Residence, 1962 (N=14420)

Level of Longevity	Rural				Urban			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low (65-72 years)	1248	(37.3)	763	(29.3)	1757	(42.6)	1358	(31.3)
Medium (73-80 years)	1141	(34.1)	892	(34.2)	1394	(33.8)	1462	(33.6)
High (81 years and over)	954	(28.3)	953	(36.5)	973	(23.6)	1525	(35.1)
Total	3343	(100.0)	2608	(100.0)	4124	(100.0)	4345	(100.0)

$X^2 = 242.5$, d.f. = 6, $p<.001$.

Turning to race characteristics of longevity, Table 7 shows the results of the computations made. There it can be seen that the black aged had a shorter life-span than the white aged in Louisiana, in 1962. Some 43.5 percent of the black aged in the state fell in the low level of longevity group, as compared to only 31.7 percent of white aged. By comparison, the highest level of longevity group included 34 percent of the white aged, but only 23.3 percent of the black aged. Clearly more whites than blacks survived to the age of 81 years or over.

Table 7. Race and Level of Longevity of Louisiana Aged, 1962 (N=14420)

Level of Longevity	Race			
	White		Black	
	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low (65-72 years)	3096	(31.7)	2030	(43.5)
Medium (73-80 years)	3344	(34.3)	1545	(33.1)
High (81 years and over)	3318	(34.0)	1087	(23.3)
Total	9758	(100.0)	4662	(100.0)

$X^2 = 243.031$, d.f. = 2, $p<.001$.

Taking into consideration residence, the study findings show that the black aged in both urban and rural areas had a shorter life-span than the white aged. As can be seen in Table 8, the urban black aged were relatively more likely than the urban white aged to be found in the low level of longevity group (45.6 versus 40.8 percent). The same pattern held true for ruralites within the two races. In this regard, the fact that rural whites turned out to be the longest lived of all groups is most interesting.

Table 8. Longevity of Louisiana Aged by Race and Residence, 1962 (N=14420)

Level of Longevity	Rural				Urban			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low (65-72 years)	1194	(30.2)	817	(40.8)	1902	(32.7)	1213	(45.6)
Medium (73-80 years)	1376	(34.8)	657	(32.8)	1968	(33.9)	888	(33.4)
High (81 years and over)	1380	(34.9)	527	(26.3)	1938	(33.4)	560	(21.0)
Total	3950	(100.0)	2001	(100.0)	5808	(100.0)	2661	(100.0)

$X^2 = 267.57$, d.f. = 6, $p<.001$.

To test the marital status variable, the Louisiana aged in the sample population were classed into three categories: single, married, and once married. The data in Table 9 suggests that married persons among the aged in Louisiana in 1962 had a shorter life-span than single persons. Some 47.9 percent of the former as compared to 36.3 percent of the latter were at the lowest life expectancy level. However, when the married and once married (widowed or divorced) are lumped together, this group has a longer life-span expectancy than the single (35.5 percent as compared to 36.3 percent in the lowest longevity grouping and 30.7 percent versus 29.1 percent in the highest longevity group). This finding is consistent with the findings of studies which show that married persons tend to live longer than single persons.

Table 9. Marital Status and Level of Longevity of Louisiana Aged, 1962 (N=14319)

Level of Longevity	Marital Status					
	Single		Married		Once Married	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low	374	(36.3)	2776	(47.9)	1940	(25.9)
Medium	356	(34.6)	2008	(34.7)	2488	(33.2)
High	300	(29.1)	1008	(17.4)	3069	(40.9)
Total	1030	(100.0)	5792	(100.0)	7497	(100.0)

$X^2 = 1043.037$, d.f. = 4, $p<.001$.

When the longevity pattern of the various marital status groups among Louisiana aged in 1962 are related to residence, an interesting picture emerges. It may be seen in Table 10 that persons who were once married or are now married and living in urban areas had a shorter relative life-span than persons with these marital characteristics living in rural areas. Urban dwellers who were single lived longer, apparently, than the rural single or never married persons--see Table 10. However, when the married and once married are lumped into one group, the urban dwellers had a shorter life-span expectancy than the rural dwellers (29.1 percent to 32.3 percent).

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, the analysis carried out definitely supported the thesis of a residential differential in longevity. Rural females apparently are the most long lived group in Louisiana, while urban males have the shortest life-span.

It was found that in 1962 and 1965, urban blacks had the shortest life-span and rural whites the longest life-span. But in 1968, 1971, and 1974, urban blacks had the shortest life-span, white urban whites had the longest life expectancy. Although it has not been established that racial differentials in longevity should be attributed to "race" differences per se; it is likely that they are caused by differences in levels of living--more particularly by the lack of educational and economic opportunity of blacks.

Marital status has been consistently found to be highly associated with longevity; with most research indicating that married persons live longer than those not married (Rose, 1971; Pfeiffer, 1971; Powers and Bultena, 1972). It has been suggested both that healthier individuals (i.e., those most able to cope with stress) tend to marry at higher rates than unhealthy persons, and that marriage provides a social and physical environment more conducive to longevity. The data collected supported the above findings, only when married and once married persons were lumped into one group. In 1962, 1965,

Table 10. Longevity of Louisiana Aged by Marital Status and Residence, 1962 (N=14319)

Level of Longevity	Rural						Urban					
	Single		Married		Once Married		Single		Married		Once Married	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Low	130	(39.2)	1204	(45.3)	668	(22.8)	244	(35.0)	1572	(50.1)	1272	(27.9)
Medium	112	(33.7)	965	(36.3)	947	(32.3)	244	(35.0)	1043	(33.3)	1541	(33.8)
High	90	(27.1)	488	(18.4)	1321	(45.0)	210	(30.0)	520	(16.6)	1748	(38.3)
Total	332	(100.0)	2657	(100.0)	2936	(100.0)	698	(100.0)	3135	(100.0)	4561	(100.0)

X^2 = 1098.87, d.f. = 10, p<.001.

and 1968, it was found that urban married persons had the shortest life-span, while rural once married persons had the longest life expectancy. In 1974, rural married persons had the shortest life-span and rural once married individuals the longest life-span. Chart 1 presents a summary of the findings reported in this paper.

Chart 1. Summary of the Longest and the Shortest Life-Span Aged of Louisiana by Differentials of Sex, Race, and Marital Status by Sample Years

Year	Differential	Shortest Life-Span	Longest Life-Span
1962	Sex	Urban male	Rural female
	Race	Urban black	Rural white
	Marital Status	Urban married	Rural once married
1965	Sex	Urban male	Rural female
	Race	Urban black	Rural white
	Marital Status	Urban married	Rural once married
1968	Sex	Urban male	Rural female
	Race	Urban black	Urban white
	Marital Status	Urban married	Rural once married
1971	Sex	Urban male	Rural female
	Race	Urban black	Urban white
	Marital Status	Urban once married	Rural once married
1974	Sex	Urban male	Urban female
	Race	Urban black	Urban white
	Marital Status	Rural married	Rural once married

From the above findings, we can declare that residence had a more pronounced effect on longevity in 1962, 1965, and 1968. In recent years (1971, 1974), longevity has not been affected as greatly by residence. Youmans (1967:113-115), after studying the disengagement of elderly men in three areas of life: economic, family relationships, and leisure-time activities, concluded that decline in economic status occurred more sharply with age in the urban than in the rural areas. He concluded that urban men evidenced somewhat stronger feelings of rejection by their families than did rural men, a finding which probably reflects the greater prevalence of family cohesion in rural areas.

In a study of counties with extreme death rates, and to the degree of persistence of extreme rates through time and space, and in different age-sex groups, Sauer and Parke (1974:258-264) found that men in low-rate counties tended to be more closely associated with agriculture, than their counterparts in the high-rate counties. Herbert Sauer (1976:41) also found that rural areas generally tended to have lower death rates in middle-age populations than did urban areas, although this difference seemed to be decreasing. The implication of the above seems to be quite clear. Rural life and living does not place as great a stress on people, and consequently increases their life expectancy.

With regards to the finding that women in Louisiana live longer than men, other investigators have found that women in modern industrial societies generally live longer than men (Rose, 1971; Baer and Gaitz, 1971). In fact, Siegel and O'Leary (1973) project a continuation of this trend into the next centruy. Both biological and sociological explanations have been presented for female longevity dominance. Clark (1964) proposed that genetic factors are responsible for the female's greater ability to cope with environmental stress and hazards, while Hamilton and Mestler (1969), after examining the longevity rates among intact males, eunuchs, and normal females determined that the female's longer longevity record is due to a more adaptive endocrine system which retards the aging process. However, a purely biological explanation does not account for decreased female longevity in non-industrialized societies. It is thus that a more sociological answer has to be given. In this vein, Bogue (1959) observed that due to cultural mores, women are not usually subjected to many of the physical hazards to which men are subjected.

In addressing the question of why women tend to live longer than men, perhaps an answer will begin to emerge as the environment, role, and life-styles of men and women become more similar. Present trends toward more equality between the sexes and less discrimination against women in various workfields should produce a more similar social environment for men and women. If the increasing role equality of men and women does not result in similar patterns of longevity, this will indicate finally that hereditary differences are the main explanation of the differences in life expectancy between the sexes. For the present, the implication remains that planning for the aged should take into consideration the longer life expectancy of women.

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PART-TIME FARMING AND THE STRUCTURE OF KENTUCKY AGRICULTURE*

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Despite signs that an era in the re-organization of American agriculture is drawing to a close, the structure of American agriculture continues to be quite dynamic. The decline in number of farms and in farm workers coupled with the increase in size of farms and in productivity per worker have been important long-term trends. Recently, these trends have shown signs of reaching stability. An Economic Research Service report (1976) indicates, for example, that while the number of farms in the United States declined by over 13 percent (3.5 m. to 3.0 m.) from 1964 to 1969, the number dropped by less than 6 percent (3.0 m. to 2.8 m.) between 1969 and 1974. The average size of farms, which had increased by 11 percent between 1964 and 1969 (32 acres), increased by only 4 percent (15 acres) from 1969 to 1974.

The long-term decline in number of farm workers--both family and hired workers--has leveled off. Between 1964 and 1969 the number of family workers on farms declined by 21.5 percent, but only by 9 percent between 1969 and 1974 and has increased since then. Similarly, hired workers decreased by 24 percent during the first five year period of the past decade, but only 3.7 percent during the second and has increased since then. Except for the early 1930's, net out-migration from the farm population is at its lowest ebb since 1920.

Finally, the trends in both the output per man-hour and per unit of farm input, which had been increasing for many years, have been approximately stable since 1971 (E.R.S., 1976).

Thus, these long-term trends, which have signaled dramatic structural change in American agriculture over the past three-quarters of a century, seem to be leveling off. But, other trends have persisted--some have accelerated--and continue to reflect a restructuring of agriculture today and possibly in the future.

For example, the capital requirements for engaging in agricultural production have been accelerating. At present, the per farm value of farm assets is increasing geometrically--doubling almost every five years. And, of course, the cost of farm inputs--labor, farm machinery, fertilizer, energy, etc.--have been increasing rapidly. This situation has dramatically altered the income situation of different classes of farms. For example, while the dollar value of "realized net income" of farms with less than $20,000 gross sales has remained constant and the number of these farms has declined by 50 percent since 1960, the total net income of large scale farms--$100,000 or more gross sales--has more than doubled and the number of such farms has quadrupled.

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These trends and their implications for freedom of entry into farming and individual choice of farm enterprises, the transfer of farms from one generation to another, and the organizational life of rural communities have aroused the concern of both sociologists and economists. Studies have indicated that the increased scale of farming operations cannot be explained on grounds of technological economies, but rather derive from the gains in economic and political control (Blair, 1972; Tweeten, 1970). Although large-scale farms are a relatively small proportion of the total, they account for an increasing proportion of the total agricultural product and affect the price and quality of food and fiber products.

Another trend, which has received much less attention, has been the increasing proportion of individuals with dual occupations--farming and off-farm work. While contract work for other farmers has been a traditional means of supplementing on-farm income, the number of farmers and/or members of their families with employment outside agriculture has increased rapidly. This trend is also changing the organization of agriculture in various ways, but its implications for the structure of agriculture and the well-being of individual families and rural communities has been little appreciated. The exploration of this trend and some of its implications for agricultural production is the focus of this paper.

The prevalence of dual occupations is indicated by the number and proportion of part-time farmers. In the United States the number of farm operators declined by 49 percent (5.4 m. to 2.7 m.) between 1949 and 1969. However, the number of farm operators who worked off their farms 100 or more days per year declined by only 13 percent (1.3 m. to 1.1 m.). Meanwhile, the proportion of all farm operators who were part-time, according to this definition, increased from 23.3 percent in 1949 to 39.9 percent in 1969.* Thus, part-time farmers not only have increased as a proportion of all farm operators--nearly doubling in two decades--but also their number has been more stable than that of full-time farmers.

Although the number of Kentucky farm operators who were part-time increased by 14.9 percent between 1949 and 1969, rather than declining as was true nationally, the increase in the proportion of all farmers working 100 or more days off the farm during these two decades paralleled national trends--21.7 percent to 42.1 percent. For all Kentucky farmers in 1974, the principal occupation was "other than farming" for 45.2 percent (1974 Census of Agriculture).

A related statistic is the percentage of farm residents in the United States employed in agricultural and nonagricultural industries (E.R.S., 1976:Figure 77). Between 1961 and 1975 the percentage employed in agriculture declined from about 63 percent to 45 percent. During the same 14-year period the percentage employed in nonagricultural industries increased steadily, from about 25 percent to about 43 percent. Thus, for farm residents nonagricultural occupations now have become nearly equal in importance to farming as an occupation.

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*The 1974 Census of Agriculture indicates that excluding corporations and other organizations the principal occupation was "other than farming" for 39.8 percent of all farmers in the United States (Preliminary Report).

The significance of nonagricultural employment is reflected too in the comparative sizes of the income streams derived from agricultural and nonagricultural employment. For farm operator families in 1975, income obtained from off-farm sources exceeded that from the farm for all size of farm classes below $20,000 gross sales (E.R.S., 1976:Figure 80). Clearly, for most of the farm families in these size classes (and many above this size), the well-being of the family was more dependent on off-farm than on-farm work.

From the mid-1930's to 1960 part-time farming was regarded primarily as part of the agricultural transition whereby marginal farmers were eased out of agriculture and into the nonfarm sector. The stabilization of farm size (acreage) and farm numbers, especially the slow decline in numbers of small commercial farms ($2,500 to $19,999 in gross sales), suggests that the development of dual occupations and multiple sources of earned family income have become an important factor in preventing a more rapid loss of small farmers.

An important question in this connection is whether the class of part-time farmers is composed of families for whom this pattern of work is a temporary expedient versus a relatively enduring one. The answer to this question, of course, requires an investigation of dual careers. Several studies suggest that for a substantial proportion of persons with dual occupations the pattern is relatively stable. Studies of New York farmers during the 1950's (Reeder and LeRay, 1970) found that "the dominant trend was toward a decreased dependency on farming as a occupation." But, in a given year from one-half to two-thirds were engaged in part-time farming. A national study (Loomis, 1965) indicated that dual jobholders averaged 8 to 12 years of off-farm work and had worked for the same employer for at least five years.

A more recent Kentucky study of 121 farmers with dual occupations indicates that both on- and off-farm work commitments have been relatively stable.* Of those working off the farm at all in 1974, 82 percent had been doing so five years earlier in 1969, and of those surveyed who had ever worked off the farm 85 percent were doing so in 1974. Most (84 percent) worked off the farm 200 or more days in 1974, and one-half obtained 75 percent or more of their income in 1973 from off-farm work. The typical part-time farmer had had a dual occupation for 8.4 years (median), was 43 years old, and had completed high school.** Moreover, most of these part-time farmers (88 percent) planned to continue working off the farm at least for the next several years. Although one out of nine planned to reduce farming operations in the future, none planned to abandon farming.

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*The 1974 sample of part-time farmers with $2,500 or more in gross sales was obtained in 12 Kentucky counties in which 57.6 percent of the farmers had worked 100 or more days off the farm in 1969. The sample was obtained by interviewing all part-time farmers in randomly drawn, small areas in each county.

**In a 1969 study of Kentucky farmers with farm sales of $1,000 or more, 37.6 percent were part-time farmers (Justus and Brown, 1974). Three-fourths of the 265 part-time farmers worked 200 or more days off the farm. Typcially, they were in their mid-40's in age and had completed 11 years of school.

In the Kentucky sample three out of five part-time farmers had not been farming prior to beginning farming on a part-time basis. Thus, for most of these farmers a nonfarm occupation had been their first vocation, and they had "diversified" by taking up farming as a second occupation. The expansion into farming is further indicated by their future plans. One-fifth planned to expand their farming operations in the future compared to only one out of nine who planned reductions. For these persons, therefore, both the farm and nonfarm occupations were important and regarded by them as relatively permanent arrangements.

How substantial were the farm and nonfarm occupations in which these persons were engaged? Were farming operations small and the non-farm occupations primarily manual and blue collar as earlier studies have indicated? The Kentucky study was concerned only with those with farm sales of $2,500 or more, thereby eliminating the smallest class of farmers. Despite this, 60.2 percent sold less than $10,000 in farm products in 1973, a relatively good year for farm sales. Though relatively small, their performance did not differ drastically from all farmers in the 12 study counties in which 52.7 percent of such farmers sold less than $10,000 in 1974 (U.S. Census of Agriculture, Preliminary Reports). Moreover, the average acreage farmed (181.3 acres) was only 3 percent smaller than that for all farmers (187.1 acres).*

Nonfarm occupations of these part-time Kentucky farmers were coded according to the U.S. Census Occupational Code. The initial occupational status for the typical (median) part-time farmer had been 50--at the midpoint of the status range--and the distribution was evenly balanced with one-fourth in the upper and lower thirds of the status range, respectively. When interviewed in 1974, however, the typical farmer had an occupational status score of 58--in the range of the higher skilled tradesmen, professional assistants, and clerical workers. Thirty-five percent were in the upper-third of the status range compared with only 19 percent in the lowest third. Thus, during a working career of approximately 25 years the typical part-time farmers had been up-wardly mobile, increasing his nonfarm occupational status score by 8 points (16 percent). It is evident that the bulk of these part-time farmers had relatively secure positions in nonfarm occupations which could provide a relatively steady income, sufficient for a moderate level of family living and to support, as had often been the case, an expansion into farming operations.

These part-time farmers, of course, differed in many ways and one of particular interest herein is the relative commitment to their farm and nonfarm occupations. For present purposes this will be measured by the number of days worked during 1973 at their farm and nonfarm occupations. In 1973, the ratio of days worked on the farm to the total days worked was less than 0.30 for three out of five operators. For most of these operators, therefore, farming was clearly secondary in terms of time expended on the job, and they are regarded, hereafter, as having a relatively low commitment to farming. For the remainder the ratio of days worked varied from 0.30 to 0.74, indicating a more evenly balanced expenditure of effort in both farm and nonfarm occupations, i.e., a moderate commitment to farming.

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*Farm acreages of the sample full-time farmers were much larger, averaging 341.4 acres.

As might be expected, occupational statuses of the low-farm commitment farmers tended to be higher than for those with moderate commitments to farming (Table 1). While 43.1 percent of the low-commitment group had occupational statuses in the upper-third of the status range, this was so for only 23.4 percent of the moderate commitment group.

The difference in farm commitment and nonfarm occupational status is reflected in the relative scale of farming (farm sales). As expected, the gross sales of low-commitment farmers tended to be lower than the sales of those with moderate commitments or all farmers in these counties (Table 2). The two commitment groups differ too in the relative importance of farming as a source of income. While 77 percent of the low-commitment farmers reported that farming contributed one-third or less of their family income in 1973, this was so for only 58 percent of the farmers with moderate commitments to farming.

The future plans for farming also differ somewhat for the two commitment groups. A higher proportion of the low-commitment (70 percent) than the moderate-commitment farmers (60 percent) expected to retain the same size of farming operations during the three years after 1974. Low-commitment farmers were similar to the full-time farmers studied in planning to retain the present scale of farming operations, or, if not, to expand it. By comparison, the future farming plans of farmers with moderate commitments to farming were more diverse. Nearly as many, proportionately, were planning to reduce (17 percent) as to increase (23 percent) their farming operations. However, as reported earlier, none were planning to abandon farming entirely.

These findings suggest several conclusions. First, for the low-farm commitment groups the primary direction of change is into farming, supported perhaps by surplus income derived from the nonfarm occupation and motivated by an interest in farming. Second, the moderate-farm commitment group manifests the most diverse movements. While some are moving in the direction of greater commitments to farming, a nearly equal proportion is reducing them, perhaps to expand nonfarm commitments and obtain increased income. Even so, over half of the latter group expect to retain the same level of farm commitment in the future. Third, the evidence suggests that regardless of the level of present commitment to farming the pattern of dual commitments is relatively stable, and, finally, for this sample of part-time farmers the past five years has been a period characterized primarily by a transition from nonfarm to farm occupations rather than the reverse.

In these 12 Kentucky counties the effect of this counter-transition is reflected in the number of commercial farmers with $2,500 or more in farm products sold which increased by 8.4 percent between 1969 and 1974 (U.S. Census of Agriculture, Preliminary Reports). But, while the total acreage farmed also increased (3.8 percent), the average acreage per farm declined by 4.4 percent (195.8 acres to 187.1 acres). Clearly, during this period the number of relatively small acreage farmers has grown more rapidly than the number with relatively larger acreages. Doubtless, the abandonment of the soil bank program as well as the improved economic conditions in agriculture during the early part of the present decade contributed to these trends, but the growth of rural industrialization and of services in non-metropolitan areas, which provided more and better nonfarm jobs, also probably has contributed to this growth.

Nevertheless, the evident increase in the number of small acreage farmers does not alter the trend in increasing scale of farming as reflected in farm sales. Between 1969 and 1974 farms with gross sales under $10,000 continued to decline both numerically and proportionately while those with larger sales increased in both respects. Both inflation and more extensive use of capital doubtless contributed to this rise in scale of farming as measured by farm sales. Although separating the contribution of each of these factors goes beyond the scope of this paper, the increased use of capital clearly has not been confined to the large acreage farmers. Those with relatively small acreages have become more capital intensive too, and the fact that many of them have dual occupations suggests that their economic situation is relatively strong, enabling them to continue in farming, if they desire, regardless of their scale of farming operations.

The prevalence and stability of the dual occupational career pattern raises questions concerning the contribution of low- and moderate-commitment farmers to agricultural production. First, what differences in scale of farming operations exist between these groups and in comparison with all farmers in these counties? Second, in what ways do these groups of part-time farmers differ from farmers generally in the types of farm enterprises and in the trends in agricultural production?

In a 1969 study, Justus and Brown (1974) found that the average acreage of part-time farmers in Kentucky varied by area of the state from about 145 to 194 acres, but in three of the four areas the averages were between 187 and 194 acres. For the present sample the average in 1974 was 181.3 acres, which does not differ greatly from that of five years earlier. It may be surprising, therefore, to discover that those who were part-time in 1974 farmed much smaller acreages in 1969--114.8 acres, in five years the average had increased by 57.9 percent. While this fits with the reported expansion in farming of these part-time farmers, it also indicates that the 1974 sample of part-time farmers is not representative of part-time farmers in 1969. The latter point is emphasized by data on the ages of part-time farmers in 1969 and 1974. Although the two studies are not precisely comparable, in both studies the typical part-time farmer was in his mid-forties. Clearly, if the 1974 part-time farmers had been representative of part-time farmers in 1969, they should have averaged nearly 50 years of age.

There are two implications of these findings. First, the expansion of farming, which characterized the 1974 sample of part-time farmers, was as much, perhaps more, related to life cycle processes of career development, in this case the development of dual careers, as to the particular economic circumstances prevailing during the five-year period. Second, although part-time farmers may be compared with all farmers in 1974, in examining trends over time the most appropriate comparison is with the trends for those who were full-time farmers in 1974. By comparing trends for part-time with full-time farmers in 1974, the life cycle related developments for each group tend to be equated. In this respect it is notable that the full-time farmers in the 1974 sample also had increased farm size between 1969 and 1974--from 274.4 acres to 341.4 acres (24.4 percent). While the rate of expansion was more rapid for part-time than full-time farmers, the increase in actual acreage was somewhat greater for the full-time farmers.

The final issue with which I am concerned herein is the relationship between, or effect of, part-time farming on the structure of farm production. This elicits several questions. First, do part-time farmers differ among themselves and from full-time farmers in the production of major types of farm commodities--burley tobacco, corn, soybeans, beef cattle, and hogs? In 1969, the percentages of the low- and moderate-commitment farmers engaged in most of these enterprises were smaller than for full-time farmers (Table 3). This was not so true in 1974, and beef cattle operations were much more widespread among part-time than full-time farmers. Although both part-time and full-time farmers diversified during the five-year period, this process as reflected in the increase in percentages of farmers engaging in each enterprise was the most extensive among part-time farmers. They, of course, were much smaller than the full-time farmers in 1969 and increased farm size evidently more often provided opportunities to develop additional enterprises.

In evaluating these trends it is essential to remember that they are related to life cycle processes of growth in farm enterprises as well as to overall trends in the production of the farm commodities generally. In these counties there was substantial growth only in the percentage of farms growing soybeans. The percentages of all farmers raising corn and beef cattle remained essentially stable between 1969 and 1974, while the percentages raising hogs and burley tobacco declined. Thus, the shifts for commitment groups suggest that part-time farmers contributed substantially to the general diversification in soybeans. The more widespread involvement of part-time farmers in raising beef cattle, on the other hand, likely results from the greater adaptability of this enterprise to the constraints imposed by nonfarm occupational commitments.*

The small sample numbers make generalizations about the differences between the two groups of part-time farmers hazardous. Nevertheless, while both groups diversified between 1969 and 1974 the larger percentages of moderate- than low-commitment farmers involved with most of these enterprises (soybeans is the exception) suggest that moderate-commitment farmers were the more diversified in 1969 and especially so in 1974. The greater diversification of both groups of part-time farmers doubtless is related to the substantial capital development in farming which occurred during this five-year period. In any event, it seems clear that a dual occupational commitment has not been a major barrier to diversification in farm enterprises although beef cattle and soybeans have been more appealing to part-time farmers.

The effects of relative commitment to farming are perhaps more evident in considering the scale of the entrprises of those actually engaged in each enterprise. While relatively fewer of both types of part-time farmers than of full-time farmers were raising burley tobacco as noted previously, those engaged in this enterprise did not differ much in the quantity produced per farm. On the other hand, in 1969 and in 1974 low-commitment farmers had larger acreages of both corn and soybeans and smaller numbers of both beef cows and brood sows than did the moderate-commitment farmers.

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*This conclusion also was made by Justus and Brown (1974).

In many respects, therefore, the two types of part-time farmers tend to be quite different. In general, the low-commitment farmers have somewhat smaller-scale operations, are somewhat less diversified, more heavily engaged in grain growing, and raise fewer livestock than do the moderate-commitment farmers.

From the standpoint of the more general question of the importance of part-time farming in Kentucky agriculture it seems clear that the development of dual occupational careers (as reflected in part-time farming) has become a relatively stable and important aspect of the agricultural situation. Its importance is reflected not merely in prevalence and stability of dual occupational commitments but also in the scale of farming operations. In these respects, the trends in the production of agricultural commodities on part-time farms have marked effects on the overall trends in agricultural production and the future of agriculture. The low-commitment farmers are the most numerous and probably have the greatest impact both because of their number and the tendencies to specialize in a single crop or in beef cattle production.

These findings suggest that several common assumptions about part-time farming which have shaped past policies need to be re-examined. First, in part-time farming operations labor efficiency rather than capital efficiency is the most important consideration. Typically, the capital efficiency has been considered to be the primary consideration. Second, only a small proportion of the part-time farmers producing $2,500 or more in gross sales are marginal and in danger of being forced out of agriculture, at least so long as prospects for making income from agricultural production remain generally favorable. Diversification in farm production and in nonfarm occupations functions to prevent losses in any one farm enterprise from being fatal to their economic situation. The small, full-time farmer rather than the small part-time farmer is the least secure. Finally, as part-time farmers comprise an important part, in many areas the most numerous part, of the rural population, the development of rural policies and programs of various agencies serving rural people and communities should be re-shaped to attend to a broader range of problems connected with servicing the needs of persons pursuing dual occupational careers.

TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY LEVEL OF COMMITMENT TO FARMING

	Level of Commitment to Farming					
	Low		Moderate		Total	
Occupational Status Class	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Upper Third	31	43.1	11	23.4	42	35.3
Middle	28	38.9	26	55.3	54	45.4
Lower Third	13	18.0	10	21.3	23	19.3
Total	72	100.0	47	100.0	119	100.0
Median Score	62		51		58	
Range	12-94		4-95		4-95	

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE OF PART-TIME FARMERS IN 1973 AND OF ALL FARMS IN 1974 (HYPOTHETICAL) BY VALUE OF SALES

	Sample Farms, Sales of $2,500 or More in 1973			
	Level of Commitment to Farming			
Value of Sales	Low	Moderate	Total	All Farms in Sample Counties, Sales of $2,500 or more in 1974*
	-percent-			
$100,000 or more	1.4	2.2	1.7	3.1
$40,000-$99,999	2.7	--	1.7	8.7
$20,000-$39,999	16.7	23.9	19.5	14.1
$10,000-$19,999	16.7	17.4	16.9	22.5
$5,000-$9,999	29.2	32.6	30.5	26.8
$2,500-$4,999	33.3	23.9	29.7	24.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N=72)	(N=46)	(N=118)	(N=8836)
Median	$7,860	$9,003	$8,328	$9,701

*Based on 1974 Census of Agriculture (Preliminary County Reports), and adjusted for sampling ratios in field survey.

TABLE 3. TRENDS IN PRODUCTION OF SELECTED ENTERPRISES BY FARM COMMITMENT

Enterprise	Level of Commitment to Farming								
	Low (N=74)			Moderate (N=47)			High (N=28)		
	1969	1974	Percent Change	1969	1974	Percent Change	1969	1974	Percent Change
Corn									
Total acreage	1,800	1,550		1,060	1,160		1,890	1,850	
Average acres	62.1	50.0	- 19.5	48.2	37.4	- 22.4	99.5	88.1	-11.5
Number of farms	29	31	+ 6.9	22	31	+ 40.9	19	21	+10.5
Percent of all farms	39.1	41.9		46.8	66.0		67.9	75.0	
Soybeans									
Total acreage	760	3,220		180	1,550		1,860	2,330	
Average acres	63.3	123.8	+ 95.6	--	110.7	--	206.7	258.9	+25.3
Number of farms	12	26	+ 116.7	4	14	+ 250.0	9	9	0
Percent of all farms	16.2	35.1		8.5	29.8		32.1	32.1	
Burley Tobacco									
Total pounds (000)	144	211		162	195		106	129	
Average pounds	6,000	6,593	+ 9.9	7,714	7,222	- 6.4	6,235	7,167	+14.9
Number of farms	24	32	+ 33.3	21	27	+ 23.8	17	18	+ 5.9
Percent of all farms	32.4	43.2		44.7	57.4		60.7	64.3	
Beef Cows									
Total number	824	1,347		862	1,061		432	618	
Average per farm	22.3	24.9	+ 11.6	30.8	29.5	- 4.2	30.9	38.6	+24.9
Number of farms	37	54	+ 45.9	28	36	+ 22.2	14	16	+14.3
Percent of all farms	50.0	73.0		59.6	76.6		50.0	57.1	
Brood Sows									
Total number	106	173		165	237		89	160	
Average per farm	9.6	9.1	- 5.2	15.0	13.9	- 7.3	12.7	17.8	+40.2
Number of farms	11	19	+ 72.7	11	17	+ 54.5	7	9	+28.6
Percent of all farms	14.9	25.7		23.4	36.2		25.0	32.1	

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AN ASSESSMENT OF RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS: THE CASE OF GADSDEN COUNTY, FLORIDA

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INTRODUCTION

Information on the rural labor market including unemployment is provided on a regular basis by several governmental agencies at the state and national level. The agencies that have the primary responsibility for providing unemployment statistics are the Bureau of Census and the United States Department of Labor's Employment Service in cooperation with the State Employment Security agencies. Although it would seem these agencies should have the resources to provide reliable and sufficient data on rural unemployment, this may not necessarily be the case. The data they provide for urban areas is generally reliable and sufficient. However, some unique characteristics of the rural labor force may cause the methods the agencies use for estimating unemployment to yield statistics that are invalid.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the validity of unemployment statistics for rural areas as provided by governmental agencies. This will begin with a discussion of the need for accurate unemployment statistics, and the adequacy for official statistics currently available. Statistics from an actual survey of unemployment in a county with both a rural and urban population will then be compared with official statistics supplied by the Florida Division of Employment Security using methods prescribed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

THE NEED FOR ACCURATE UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

There is a definite need in rural areas for accurate and reliable estimates of unemployment. The social and economic welfare of the population has a strong relationship with employment status (Taylor, 1968:13). Quality of life is also related to the opportunity for meaningful and remunerative work. "Most people want work that will enable them to support themselves and contribute to the well being of others" (Haller, 1971:3). In order for local, state and national leaders in both the private and public sectors to insure the population does have the opportunity for such work they need information on the labor market. One important part of this information is the number of persons in a specific geographic area that are unemployed and seeking work. Having a correct estimate of unemployment can aid in planning and executing programs for enhancing the welfare of a population in two major respects.

The first is in relation to the recruitment of new industry. For an area to be appealing to potential industry it must have, among other things, an adequate pool of readily available labor. This includes not only workers who may be induced to leave their present employment, but also those workers who are presently unemployed and seeking work (Thiele, 1972:51). Knowing the size of the unemployed sector of the labor force is of particular importance for rural areas, because it is predominantly the labor intensive industries that seek rural locations (Little, 1972:48). Therefore, in the selection of one location over other available locations, the degree of unemployment can be a major consideration.

The second implication for planning and executing development programs is that several governmental agencies that are charged with rendering development assistance use unemployment data, usually the unemployment rate, as a primary criterion for distributing and administering many of their programs and monies. In order for rural areas to obtain equity, or their "fair share" of resources available through these agencies, the statistics for documenting the share for rural areas should be beyond reproach (Hathaway, 1972:12). In other words, if the official unemployment figures underestimate the actual unemployment, the rural areas are not able to receive all the assistance for which they should be eligible and which they require.

VALIDITY OF OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

As mentioned above there are primarily two sources for unemployment data. The Bureau of Census probably provides the most comprehensive and accurate figures through its decennial census. However, upon publication these figures are already dated by three years. Major social or economic shifts can occur in this extended period of time, completely altering the employment/unemployment situation. This is especially true for smaller geographic areas with small populations, such as rural towns and counties (Korsching, 1976:131).

To compensate for major changes, the Census Bureau supplements and adjusts census statistics with the monthly nationwide Current Population Survey. However, only about 50,000 households are interviewed for each monthly survey (Tauber, 1972:121). With a sample of this size estimates from the survey may be highly accurate regionally or nationally; but due to the problem of extremely limited number of cases when the data are disaggregated for smaller units such as counties, the estimates can be grossly inaccurate and misleading.

The unemployment statistics that the Department of Labor provides for rural areas may be no more reliable than those of the Bureau of Census. This is because no real count of the unemployed is made for the monthly or annual unemployment figures. Rather, a formula or "cookbook" method is used which is, "... synthetic - an attempt to approximate what you would get if you had a complete survey" (Rindler, 1972:33).

The basis of the unemployment statistics is primarily unemployment insurance records. However, since not all members of the work force are covered by unemployment insurance, an estimation procedure is needed for determining the number this represents. This estimation procedure is accomplished through a number of formulas based upon national statistics derived mainly from the CPS and the Census.

> The ways the formulas are used in these factors are based on national ratios which are determined through national statistics. They can approximate how many people - if you have this many unemployment insurance claimants - might be expected to have exhausted their unemployment insurance or have newly entered the labor market (Rindler, 1972:34).

Again, the unemployment statistics thus obtained may be highly accurate for urban and metropolitan areas, but for rural areas they leave much to be desired. The main problem is the heavy emphasis placed upon unemployment insurance as the base for computing unemployment. Unemployment insurance is a phenomenon existing mainly in an industrial urban setting where most workers participate in an unemployment insurance program (Levine, 1972:38). Under conditions in which the majority of workers are represented, the hazards of estimating the small unrepresented proportion are minimized. Unfortunately, in rural areas, and principally in extractive industries, the majority of workers are not eligible for unemployment compensation. Thus there is little data available and the hazards of estimating are greatly increased.

> ...data for those firms not covered by unemployment insurance are not readily available and available data on farming, fishery and forestry industrial classification are nearly nonexistent. In like manner, information as to available labor supply is extremely limited or nonexistent (Ickstadt, 1972:29).

Statistical accounting of the labor force in urban areas is also aided by other sources such as the records of employment agencies. Employment agencies are not as prevelant in rural as in urban areas. Additionally, rural people, and in particular the rural low income people, do not utilize the services of employment agencies. For the people in exceptionally poor counties, this may be in response to knowing that there is no work available after many frustrating attempts to seek work. Also, after not having worked for an extended period of time, many persons do not consider themselves as being employable (Fuller, 1972:43).

In summary, the picture that emerges for unemployment statistics in rural areas is not encouraging. They are estimates using formulas with base data largely from and therefore mainly appropriate to the urban industrial setting. The accuracy of these estimating procedures will now be examined by comparing official unemployment rates for a specific county with rates derived from a survey specifically designed to measure unemployment. The following propositions will be examined:

1. Official procedures for estimating unemployment may radically underestimate unemployment in a rural county.

2. The estimation procedures for unemployment are more accurate for urban than for rural areas.

3. A smaller proportion of the rural unemployed than the urban unemployed receive unemployment compensation.

4. Rural unemployment is more chronic than urban unemployment.

5. Rural workers are not as familiar with employment agencies as urban workers.

SOURCE OF DATA

Gadsden County is located in the central panhandle of Florida. It borders Georgia on the north and Quincy, the county seat is only 20 minutes from Tallahassee to the southeast. Despite its proximity to the state capital, it is among the poorest counties in the state. Of the 39,184 persons who lived in the county in 1970, about one-third lived on a family income that was below poverty level as defined by the Bureau of Census.

Since 1970, the income and employment situation has deteriorated. One of the primary factors contributing to this depressed economic situation is the decline in the shade tobacco industry. Shade tobacco, used for wrappers in manufacturing cigars, has been the victim of change in consumer demand, technological substitution and foreign importation, all resulting in a decline of domestic production. In 1965 Gadsden County and vicinity had 6,270 acres of shade tobacco under production providing work for 18,000 people. By 1975 this had declined to 1,110 acres and 3,300 workers. Currently, (1976), less than 300 acres are in production (Florida State Office, Agricultural Conservation and Stabilization Service, 1976). Although the type of work that the shade tobacco industry provided was seasonal and low wage, it did provide some means of livelihood. This loss has not been replaced by either the farm or the nonfarm sector.

SAMPLE

For sampling purposes, the county was divided into rural and urban. The urban part of the sample included Quincy, plus Chattahoochee and Havana. The 1970 combined urban population was 18,300. The rural population, which includes the two incorporated but rural towns of Greensboro and Gretna, was 20,884.

Except for the two incorporated towns, the rural area was sampled via a procedure combining grid and cluster techniques. On a county map with section lines, the number of dwelling units in each section was indicated. The number of dwelling units per section was determined from three sources. The first source was 1974 enumeration of dwelling units compiled by the Division of Forestry for the Gadsden County Fire Protection Plan (1974). This information was updated for those areas of the county which had undergone significant increases or decreases in population based on a 1975 windshield survey of dwelling units conducted by the Gadsden County Planning Department. Finally, there was a cross-check for any significant discrepancies in number of dwelling units per section with a 1976 enumeration of dwelling units per section compiled by the Gadsden County Tax Assessor's Office. Using this information, clusters were then constructed by section lines, which contained approximately 50 dwelling units each. This procedure yielded 106 clusters. They were of varying sizes; but dwelling units, not geographic areas, were being surveyed.

A 40% sample of the clusters was drawn using random procedures. This yielded 43 clusters which were geographically and socioeconomically well distributed throughout the county. These 43 clusters contained 2,226 dwelling units. At the completion of the survey an actual 1,980 dwelling units had been counted. The discrepancy was due mainly to a decrease in population in the southwest portion of the county. The ten clusters in this area contained approximately 35 households each.

Cluster sampling was used for the three urban areas and the two incorporated rural towns. Recent land use maps with dwelling units were available for Quincy and Gretna. For Chattahoochee, Greensboro and Havana windshield surveys were conducted and dwelling units were plotted on maps. On these maps clusters of 10 dwelling units were constructed for Quincy, clusters of seven dwelling units for Chattahoochee and Havana and clusters of five dwelling units for Greensboro and Gretna. Thirty percent of the clusters were then randomly selected for the three urban areas, and 40% of the clusters for Greensboro and Gretna, since they were part of the rural sample.

INTERVIEWING

The data were collected through use of personal interviewing from structured questionaires. The interview schedule was divided into two parts: a "household" schedule, and an "individual" schedule. One household schedule was administered to each household, and one individual schedule was administered to each person 16 years of age or older in the household. The household schedule sought demographic and economic information on the household unit, information on participation in the programs of the Cooperative Extension Service and housing condition information.

The individual schedule contained questions on three areas. The first section contained demographic questions. The second, extensive section determined the employment status of the individual. The third, related section was concerned with the desire and opportunity for on-the-job and vocational training in the county.

The concepts, definitions, and operationalization of employment and unemployment used in the survey correspond to those used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Census.

The interviewing was accomplished with CETA workers, mostly college students, who were employed during the summer months in the county. In addition, one Extension Service professional and six paraprofessionals acted as field supervisors during the interviewing. Each supervisor worked with a team of four interviewers.

Training sessions were conducted with both interviewers and supervisors participating. The training included both classroom instruction and trial interviewing in geographic areas not in the sample.

All interviewing was accomplished during the month of August. Interviews were conducted in all occupied dwelling units within the selected rural and urban clusters. Boundaries of the rural clusters were located through the use of topographic maps and maps constructed from aerial photos. Landmarks such as roads, bridges, stores and churches were used to identify section lines in the field.

Interviews had an average duration of ten to twenty minutes Much interviewing was accomplished on evenings and some on weekends to contact those who worked during the day. After the initial attempt at contact and two callbacks, some households were contacted by telephone. Completion rates were 90% for rural area and 86% for the urban areas. Most missing households were due to refusals or absence due to vacations.

COMPARISON OF OFFICIAL AND SURVEY STATISTICS

The unemployment rate for a given geographic unit is simply the percentage of the work force not gainfully employed; both employed and unemployed workers constituting the work force. To be officially considered as being unemployed requires not having worked for four consecutive weeks, at which time eligibility for receiving unemployment compensation is attained.

A series of questions was used to determine whether the respondent would fit the qualifications of an unemployed member of the labor force. These questions ascertained that the respondent (1.) was not currently working, (2.) had been out of work at least four weeks, and (3.) was in the job market.

Table 1 contains information relating to the level of unemployment in Gadsden County. The figures indicate the survey unemployment rate of 20.2% is more than twice as large as the official unemployment rate of 9.2% for the county as a whole. This supports the first proposition that official procedures may radically under estimate unemployment in a rural county. The figures in Table 1 also support the second proposition, that the estimation procedures for unemployment are more accurate for urban than for rural areas. The data indicate that the unemployment rate for the urban sector of the county is 11.7, which is only about 2% above the estimated figure, whereas the rural sector has an unemployment rate of 25.1% or almost three times the officially estimated county unemployment rate.

Table 1 - Gadsden County, Florida
Estimated unemployment rate by residence for August, 1976.

	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL
Survey Unemployment Rate	25.1	11.7	20.2
Official Unemployment Rate*	NA	NA	9.2

* Florida Department of Commerce, Division of Employment Security (August, 1976.)

It was stated that one reason for the underestimation of rural unemployment is fewer rural workers are eligible for unemployment compensation and thus are omitted from the statistics. Table 2 contains data relating to the receiving of unemployment compensation by residence for those who are eligible. About 5% more of eligible urban unemployed than eligible rural unemployed actually receive unemployment compensation. The Gamma of -.16 indicates that although weak, there is a negative relationship between rural residence and receiving unemployment compensation.

Table 2
Receiving of unemployment compensation and residence

	RURAL	URBAN
Receiving Compensation	15% (161)	20% (60)
Not Receiving Compensation	85% (878)	80% (236)
Total	100% (1039)	100% (296)

Gamma = -.16
Chi Square = 3.9 $P < .05$

The fourth proposition stated that rural unemployment is more chronic than urban unemployment. Table 3 indicates 11 percent more of the rural workers than urban workers who have held a job but are currently out of work have been unemployed for longer than a year. The gamma of .22 indicates a positive relationship between rural residence and length of time unemployed.

Table 3
Length of unemployment and residence*

Unemployment	RURAL	URBAN
Over 1 year	48% (931)	37% (186)
1 year or less	52% (1021)	63% (323)
Total	100% (1952)	100% (509)

Gamma = .22
Chi Square = 20.3 $P < .001$
*Includes only those currently unemployed who have held a job.

The final proposition stated that rural workers are not as familiar with employment agencies as urban workers. The figures in Table 4 indicate although workers, both rural and urban are familiar with employment agencies, about 12% fewer rural workers know about employment agencies. There is a negative relationship between rural residence and familiarity with employment agencies.

Table 4
Familiarity with employment agencies and residence

Familiarity	RURAL	URBAN
Yes	76% (802)	82% (225)
No	24% (251)	18% (40)
Total	100% (1053)	100% (265)

Gamma = -.28
Chi Square = 9.5 $P < .01$

DISCUSSION

In general, the data lend support to the contention that the official procedures used for estimating unemployment in a rural area lack some degree of validity. Much of the rural labor force is statistically invisible, that is, rural workers are not identified and counted by many of the official record keeping systems of local, state and federal governments. Thus unemployment insurance records do not accurately reflect the actual scope of unemployment.

As the data indicated, rural workers are not as familiar with employment agencies as urban workers. This means, there will be more limited records on the rural unemployed and also rural unemployed are less likely to find new jobs. With a smaller probability of finding new jobs, rural unemployment would tend to be more chronic than urban unemployment. Therefore a large number of the unemployed would have exhausted their unemployment compensation payments. When this is coupled with those unemployed workers who were not eligible for unemployment insurance (for which there is no data), a large sector of the rural unemployed work force is omitted from the statistics, and the rural unemployment may be grossly underestimated. This would in turn mean significant underestimation of unemployment as a whole in a predominantly rural county.

This appears to be the situation in Gadsden County. The decline in the shade tobacco industry disemployed a large number of rural agricultural workers. Because the major part of this decline occurred since 1970, the 1970 Census did not detect this economic shift. Thus the 1970 data base for unemployment is not valid. Furthermore, the sparse sampling of the CPS, the ineligibility of the tobacco workers for unemployment compensation and the disinclination of rural workers do seek work at employment agencies prohibits accurate annual adjustment of the data. The result is a major discrepancy between the official unemployment figures and the figures resulting from this research.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The significance of underestimation of unemployment for Gadsden County relates to the welfare of the people in the county. Extensive, chronic unemployment radically reduces or completely eliminates disposable income for the person or family involved. It affects the local population directly in terms of nutrition, health, housing and recreation and indirectly in terms of greater strain on welfare or public assistance and fewer funds available for education, fire and police protection, sanitation, road construction and maintenance, and other public services and facilities. Our data indicated about 53% of all families or unrelated individuals in Gadsden County were living on an annual income below poverty level.

Unfortunately, the underestimation of unemployment acts as an obstruction between the existing conditions and efforts toward improvement. The county cannot achieve eligibility for various programs and monies through the federal government because the unemployment rate is "too low". Similarily, the county is not appealing to prospective industries because no apparent availability of labor exists.

As this underestimation of unemployment adversely affects Gadsden County, so may it also affect other rural counties in other areas of the U.S. Unfortunately, an assessment of the extent of this problem emerges only once every ten years, and radical changes in the local and county employment situation can occur in a much shorter time period than ten years. The result is that rural counties do not receive their fair share of available funds. Speaking specifically of one such federal aid program, Marshall (1974:94) states, "Rural participation in Emergency Employment Act program has been limited because the allocation formula (unemployment) used by this agency discriminates against rural areas and because its framers were not sufficiently sensitive to the unique problems of rural areas."

What is needed is more frequent on-the-spot assessment of the labor situation using survey procedures such as the census. Surveys such as the present one can do little more than indicate that a problem exists, even for the county in which the survey is conducted.

> To maintain comparability from area to area, we are restrained from using all information available. Any local information we use either must be available for all areas or must not affect any other area. This comparability is necessary since the labor force estimates are used for allocations of funds (O'Hara, 1977).

Only a major policy change in the collection and estimation of labor statistics in rural areas will insure that these areas receive their just share necessary to maintain the physical, mental and moral well-being of the rural people.

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SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND STUDENT RETENTION: A WORKING PAPER

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Statement of Problem

Although sociologists have a long history of interest in the study of education (Angell, 1928; Brookover, 1949; Waller, 1932), it has been in the last quarter century that education has become a major focus of inquiry for them (Brookover and Erickson, 1975). In their efforts to study education, sociologists have analyzed many of the same phenomena that they have researched in non-education settings; thus there are research activities which are parallelled across specific sociological topics. One topic which has received attention is the ability of organizations to accomplish goals which they set for themselves. In fact, this is often used as a chief indicator of organization "success." A very recent article by Bidwell and Kasarda (1975) used this premise in analyzing effectiveness of school district organization. Their article has engendered a rather prolonged debate between themselves and two groups of critics (Hannan, et al, 1976; Alexander and Griffin, 1976a and 1976b). The present paper has sought to replicate the Bidwell and Kasarda organizational model, but to methodologically strengthen it by incorporating one new input variable, using a new dependent variable, and reordering the causal sequence within the model. The purpose of this paper is to replicate Bidwell and Kasarda and to analyze the efficacy of an adapted version of their model to predict student retention.

The Bidwell and Kasarda Model

Bidwell and Kasarda (1975) used data from 104 Colorado school districts to examine the determinants of organizational effectiveness. These determinants were separated into environmental conditions, district structural conditions and a staff qualification variable. Organizational effectiveness was measured by district median student achievement scores on reading and mathematics achievement tests. The determinants were linked in a causal model to predict the effectiveness of the school district organization, Figure 1, with the predicted relationships indicated by +'s and -'s.

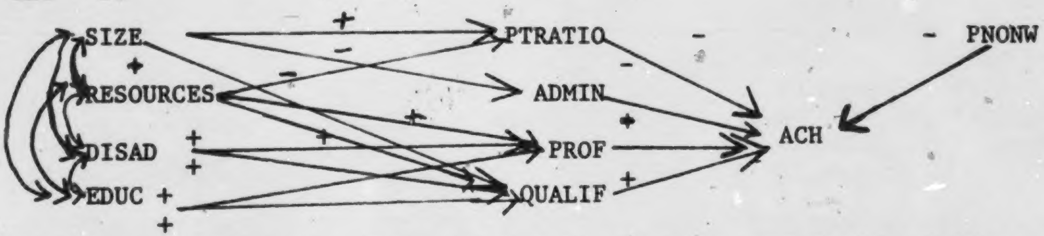

Figure 1. A Model of School District Organization and Student Achievement.

The findings of Bidwell and Kasarda closely followed their predictions. Administrative intensity was significantly affected only by district size. The only significant effect on the professional support staff was fiscal resources. The effect of the parental socio-economic status variables (EDUC and DISAD) was neglible. Pupil-teacher ratio was primarily affected by district size and fiscal resources. Qualifications of the staff were significantly affected by all of the environmental conditions except the percent nonwhite of the district population. PNONW had no effect on any of the structural or staff composition conditions of the school districts.

When considering how well the independent variables predicted organizational effectiveness and student achievement, Bidwell and Kasarda found that as pupil-teacher ratios decreased, the achievement scores increased. The same relationship was found between administrative intensity and student achievement. It was also discovered that there was a positive relationship between staff qualifications and achievement scores, but this relationship was not significant when math achievement scores were used. The professional support variable did not follow the predictions of Bidwell and Kasarda since very weak relationships were found between it and achievement levels. The percent nonwhite in the district did have a significantly depressing effect on median levels of student achievement. Overall, their model accounted for about 25 percent of the variance in median reading achievement scores and median mathematic achievement scores.

Two findings were considered especially important. Most studies of organizations have indicated that size is a "prime mover" of variation. In this study, however, size had little overall effect on the output--achievement scores. Secondly, this study found that fiscal resources had significant total effect on output. Yet, most other studies have concluded that variation in resources had little to do with variation in achievement.

A New Model

In our own analysis, we have sought to remedy certain of the problems in the Bidwell-Kasarda study. In light of the above discussion, we propose the model in Figure 2. This new model consists of six environmental variables of the school districts, three variables regarding the district structure, and one variable of staff composition. The variables are linked in a causal model to student retention rates for the school district. The environmental conditions are size, monetary resources, the percent of the children in the district from low-income families, educational levels of the parental risk population of the school district (all of these were included in the original Bidwell-Kasarda model), and percent of the population of the school district classified as rural residents. The school district structural variables include the pupil-teacher ratio, the ratio of administrators to classroom teachers and the ratio of the supporting professional staff to the classroom teachers. The staff composition variable pertains to the qualification level of the certified staff.

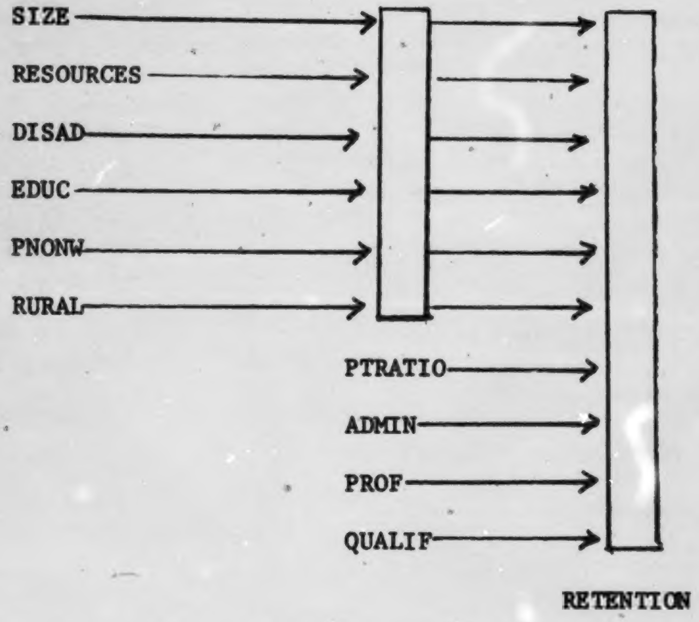

Figure 2. A Model of School District Organizational Effectiveness

The Bidwell-Kasarda model has been reordered so that some variables have been rearranged, a new variable has been included and the dependent variable is in lieu of achievement. The percent nonwhite variable has been moved to a different place in the model. Following the lead of Alexander and Griffin, we also placed PNONW with the environmental variables. Bidwell and Kasarda labeled PNONW as an environmental variable, but in their model this variable was placed on the right side of the model with only a direct effect on student achievement. Because of the large proportions of nonwhites in Louisiana, about 35% in 1970, we felt it prudent to include PNONW with the other environmental variables. It is considered that this variable occurs at the same point in time as the other environmental variables, and in addition PNONW will have some effect on the intervening variables of district structure and staff composition.

A variable measuring the percent of the district population who are rural residents has been included in our model. This variable is included with other environmental conditions because it, too, describes the ecological conditions that exist within each school district. We felt this variable to be important because of the large proportion of the Louisiana population who are classified as rural residents. In addition, most texts on "Rural Sociology" will express the view that rural residents have a life style that is different from their urban counterparts. The writing of T. Smith and Zopf (1970), Wayland (1958), Nelson (1955), Rogers and Burdge (1972), and even Sorokin and Zimmerman (1929) indicate that there will be differences in schools and in students due to a rural life style.

The final change in our model revolves around the dependent variable, retention (RET). Bidwell and Kasarda insisted that the purpose of their model was to predict school district organizational effectiveness; not student achievement, as their critics claimed and then tried to do. Similar to Bidwell and Kasarda, we, too, are trying to predict organizational effectiveness. Unlike them, however, we have substituted the school district retention rate for student achievement. The retention rate is a measure of how effectively the school district organization is meeting its goal -- specifically, the graduation of students from high school.

In addition, our model reduces bias that is inherent in the Bidwell and Kasarda model. Hannan, et. al. indicate that grouping of data that should be measured for individuals will cause bias. Bidwell and Kasarda took achievement data for individuals and grouped it for their district achievement measure. Our measure of retention rates, however, is a legitimate characteristic of the school district. Variation between individual students will have little effect on this measure. Hence, bias that is inherent in the Bidwell and Kasarda model should be removed from our model.

Out Own Notions

Initially, the authors have found it necessary to consider the effect of the rural variable on the model. The rural variable should be negatively correlated with the variable of staff qualifications. Smith and Zopf (1970) and others have indicated that classroom teachers in rural areas are less qualified to teach. Generally, fewer rural teachers have advanced degrees. This has been the case historically in Louisiana public schools (see M. Smith and Bertrand, 1963; Falk and Comfort, 1976). As the rural variable increases the qualification variable should decrease.

A positive correlation should be obtained for the rural variable and the administrative or professional variables. To an extent, some administrators and professional staff will be necessary regardlessof the size or location of the school district.. There will always be some need for principals, superintendents, librarians, etc. Also, because of consolidation of schools in rural areas, there will be a greater chance for more administrators and professional support staff members.

The pupil-teacher ratio and the rural variable should be positively correlated. There will be fewer students in rural schools, but there also will be fewer teachers. Some rural sociologists have suggested that the rural teacher must be a "jack-of-all-trades" (Smith and Zopf, 1970). One-teacher schoolhouses may have become history, but some rural areas still have schools with one English teacher, one math teacher, etc., regardless of the number of students taking the subject. If the rural students attend a consolidated school, the same positive correlation should hold true. Consolidated schools in rural areas may be of a better overall quality than the community rural schools, but because there are many more students, the pupil-teacher ratio should still be high.

A final discussion of the rural variable must consider its influence on the achievement variable. A review of the literature indicates that a rural youth is less likely to graduate than his urban counterpart. There then should be a negative correlation between the rural variable and the retention rate.

We suggest that our model may be an improvement over others because of our dependent variable. Student retention can be established as a goal of school districts. Hence, it should be a more accurate measure of how effectively the school district organization is succeeding. Possibly our measures of causation will not be as high as those of Bidwell and Kasarda, but it must be realized that our model will be more likely to measure the goals of the school district. In short, our model may be a better characterization of the effectiveness of a district, especially when one considers that public school allocations are made on the basis of students enrolled. The axion here is the more students, the more money for the district. Thus retention of students is serious business for district personnel and a test of its organizational effectiveness.

Methods and Procedures

Data

For this study to be comparable to the Bidwell-Kasarda study, it was necessary to have a sample of school districts that was representative enough to cover the spectrum of possible values. Bidwell and Kasarda had a sample of 104 of the Colorado school districts that accounted for 90 percent of the public school students in Colorado in 1969-70. Due to a rather unique characteristic of Louisiana school districts, we were able to get complete coverage (100%) of the public school students in Louisiana in 1974-75. There are 64 school districts in Louisiana that are based on the 64 parishes. None of these districts overlap across parish boundary lines. In addition, there are also two other school districts within the city limits of Monroe and Bogalusa. These districts also coincide with the geographical boundaries of the cities. Hence, we know that our data are representative, because we have, in effect, collected data for the public school population. There should be little or no sampling error within our study. Only measurement error should still exist.

The data that were needed for this study to be comparable to that of Bidwell and Kasarda were readily available. The data on the children from low-income families, the percent nonwhtie, the percent rural residents and the educational level of the parental risk population were obtained from the 1970 census of the population for the state of Louisiana. Since, school district geographical boundaries coincided with parish and city boundaries, there was no need to transform any of this data. The data for the remaining variables were obtained from the annual reports of the Louisiana State Department of Education. Most of this data was in the 1974-75 report but one variable was based on the 1971-72 report.

Since the levels of measurement for the variables included in this model are high ordinal and interval level, conventional regression analysis was used as the primary statistical method. This was also the method used by Bidwell and Kasarda, so the comparisons that are made between our study and theirs will be more reliable.

Operationalization of Variables

When operationalizing the variables for this study, the goal was to make our variables as similar as possible to those of Bidwell and Kasarda. The variables and their operationalization are as follows:

Environmental Conditions:

School District Size -- average daily attendance. This variable was transformed by logarithms (just as Bidwell and Kasarda did) to correct for a skewed distribution caused by a few very large school districts. $\log_{10}$ was used. (SIZE)

Fiscal Resources -- the total of all revenue received by the school district (local, state, and federal), divided by the average daily attendance of the district. This division tended to standardize the variable for the size of the disttict. (RESOURCES)

Disadvantaged Students -- the percent of all children (ages 0-18) residing in the school district, who come from families with incomes below the nationally-defined poverty level of 1970. (DISAD)

Parental Education -- the percent of males 20-49 years old and females 15-44 years old residing in the school district who have completed at least four years of high school education. This variable is based on the parental "risk" population -- those that could be parents; not necessarily those that are. (EDUC)

Percent Nonwhite -- the percent of the population residing in the school district who are classified by census definition as nonwhite. (PNONW)

Percent Rural -- the percent of the population residing in the school district who are classified by census definition as rural residents. This variable was not included in the Bidwell-Kasarda model. (RURAL)

Structural Conditions:

Pupil-Teacher Ratio -- the average daily attendance of the school district divided by the number of full-time teachers. (PTRATIO)

Administrative Intensity -- The ratio of administrators to classroom teachers. Administrators are defined as principals, superintendents, directors, supervisors and business agents. (ADMIN)

Professional Support Component -- The ratio of professional support staff to classroom teachers. The professional support staff is defined as librarians, guidance counselors, visiting teachers, agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, and medical personnel. (PROF)

Staff Composition Conditions:

Certified Staff Qualifications -- the percent of the total certified staff with at least the Master's degree. The certified staff is defined as principals and classroom teachers (QUALIF)

Dependent Variable:

Retention -- the retention rate of the school districts. This is the percent of all ninth graders in the school district in 1971-72 who graduated from high school in 1974-75. (RET)

Analysis

Table 1 presents the zero-order correlations for all of the variables in our model. The regression coefficients for the full organizational-retention model are reported in Table 2. The results were, for the most part, consistent with our predictions although they were not as strong as we had expected. Pupil-teacher ratio was significantly affected by three of the organizational variables as we had predicted. District size did not have as strong a direct effect as we had anticipated. However, the pupil-teacher ratio was very strongly affected (highly significant) by fiscal resources; as resources increased across school districts, the pupil-teacher ratio tended to decline. The percent of the population who are rural residents and the percent with at least a high school education also had significant direct effects on pupil-teacher ratio also increased.

Administrative intensity turned out to have more direct effects than we had anticipated. The prediction had been made that district size would have a negative effect on the administrative intensity. This was a significant effect, for the administrative intensity of the school district tended to decline as district size increased. In addition, fiscal resources and the percent of the students who are disadvantaged also had highly significant effects on the administrative intensity of the school districts. It seems that if there is more money, more administrators can be hired. If however, there are more disadvantaged students, possibly more administrators are hired in the school district to supervise special programs that may be needed.

The effects calculated for our data were not nearly as strong as we had anticipated for the staff qualification variable. Only the fiscal resources of the district had a significant effect on the qualifications of the certified staff. As the resources of the district tended to increase, the percent of the staff with a least a Master's degree also increased. Possibly, this was a function of the fact that districts with more resources could better pay more qualified teachers.

The use of a variable for the professional support component seemed to serve no purpose whatsoever in our model. None of the environmental variables had a significant effect on the professional variable. For the most part, the regression coefficients were in the predicted direction, but they were not strong enough to support a theorized linkage.

The next step was to observe the effects of the intervening variables (the school district organizational variables and the staff qualification variable) on the dependent variable of student retention. Again, our predictions were not entirely supported. Only the percent of the staff with at least the Master's degree (QUALIF) had a significant effect on retention rates. As this percentage increased (i.e., as the staff became more qualified and better educated), the retention rate increased also. It appears that better educated (i.e., greater years of education) teachers seemed to keep students in school longer. The effects of the other intervening variables were mostly in the predicted direction, but they were too weak to support a causal relationship.

Finally, the total variation of the dependent variable explained by our model should be considered. Our model seemed as thorough as that of Bidwell and Kasarda in explaining this variation among school districts. Bidwell and Kasarda explained about 25% of the variance in student achievement rates in Colorado school districts. We were able to explain about 21% of the variation in student retention rates for Louisiana public school districts. Generally, it seems that our model was at least as accurate as that of Bidwell and Kasarda in explaining school district organizational effectiveness -- especially, when one realizes the arguments we have already made concerning the greater accuracy that should result from the way that we defined our dependent variable.

Summary and Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to consider the Bidwell-Kasarda model of school district organizational effectiveness and the arguments of Hannan, et al. and Alexander and Griffin concerning this model in order to extend the original model to explain school district organizational effectiveness in Louisiana public schools.

For this discussion, the Bidwell-Kasarda model was altered to include a variable concerning the extent of rurality in a school district. In addition, the dependent variable was redefined so that the model predicted retention rates for the school district rather than individual student achievement.

The results found for this model included the following:

1. The administrative intensity of the school districts is significantly depressed by the size of the district.

2. The amount of fiscal resources and the disadvantaged population in the district cause the administrative intensity to increase.

3. The pupil-teacher ratio of the district is significantly increased by an upward change in the rurality of a district and the percent of the parental risk population with at least a high school education.

4. An increase in fiscal resources has a highly significant depressing effect on pupil-teacher ratios.

5. The qualification of the certified staff was significantly affected only by fiscal resources. (positively)

6. The only structural variable of school districts to significantly affect achievement was the qualifications of the certified staff. There was a positive relationship between the two variables.

7. This model explained about 21 percent of the total variation in student retention rates among Louisiana public school districts.

Since Bidwell and Kasarda did not report the unstandardized regression coefficients for their model, it is impossible to present a path-by-path comparison of their model to ours. However, a crude comparison can be made by discussing the "significant" paths found in each model. Bidwell and Kasarda found that two of the environmental factors affected pupil-teacher ratio -- SIZE and RESOURCES. The Louisiana model had three environmental factors associated with pupil-teacher ratio -- RESOURCES, EDUC, and RURAL.

Only the size of a school district significantly influenced administrative intensity in the Bidwell-Kasarda model. However, in our model, administrative intensity was affected by SIZE, RESOURCES, and DISAD. Professional support was associated with only one variable in the Bidwell-Kasarda model — RESOURCES. In our model, none of the environmental factors had a significant influence on professional support.

Qualifications of the certified staff had the strongest relations in the Bidwell-Kasarda model. The size of the school district (pupils), the resources of that district, the percent of the school children from disadvantaged families and the percent of the parental risk population with at least four years of high school all had a significant influence on the qualifications variable. In our study, only RESOURCES significantly affected the qualifications of the certified staff.

The intervening variables that affected Bidwell and Kasarda's dependent variable (ACH) were pupil-teacher ratio, administrative intensity, and qualifications of the certified staff (for only one type of achievement test). The effect of professional support on achievement levels was not significant. In our model, only the qualifications of the certified staff affected the dependent variable (RET). In addition, Bidwell and Kasarda's achievement variable was significantly affected by the percent of the school district population who were nonwhite. Our retention rate was not significantly affected by PNONW.

This model did not appear to work quite as well as that of Bidwell and Kasarda. Only 21% of the total variance in student retention rates was explained as opposed to the 25% of the variance in student achievement rates explained by Bidwell and Kasarda. However, the replacement of this dependent variable probably gave a better idea of the effectiveness of the school district organization. Indications were that the extent of rurality of a district does have some effect on the retention rates for that district. Further study is necessary in order to more adequately describe the effects of school district organization.

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TABLE 2 - Coefficients for the Full Organizational - Attrition Model

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables				
	PTRATIO	ADMIN	PROF	QUALIF	RET
SIZE	.250	-.285*	-.206	-.100	.212
RESOURCES	-.387**	.231**	.228	.277*	.017
DISAD	-.057	.593**	.053	.023	-.296
EDUC	.334*	.156	.034	.347	-.240
RURAL	.305*	.164	.204	-.102	-.181
PNONW	-.223	-.157	.058	.119	-.077
PTRATIO					-.019
ADMIN					.213
PROF					-.039
QUALIF					.293*
R^2	.562	.642	.277	.178	.209

N=66
*$p<.05$
**$p\leq.01$

Table 1. Zero Order-Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations (of Variables in the Model)

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}
X_1 RET	--										
X_2 PTRATIO	.097	--									
X_3 ADMIN	-.162	-.385**	--								
X_4 PROF	-.154	-.322**	.486**	--							
X_5 QUALIF	.274*	-.077	-.026	-.063	--						
X_6 SIZE	.276*	.450**	-.683**	-.453**	.016	--					
X_7 RESOURCES	.039	-.537**	.408**	.352**	.248*	-.309*	--				
X_8 DISAD	-.272*	-.527**	.670**	.333**	-.032	-.596**	.212	--			
X_9 EDUC	.174	.477**	-.460**	-.309*	.241	.538**	-.210	-.624**	--		
X_{10} RURAL	-.257*	-.216	.547**	.405**	-.168	-.699**	.208	.431**	-.632**	--	
X_{11} PNONW	-.186	-.533**	.397**	.242	.094	-.363**	.242	.728**	-.377**	.138	--
MEAN	64.2	18.9	8.13	7.65	34.3	3.86	1256.8	36.7	29.4	58.6	32.4
STD. DEV.	7.38	1.35	2.47	2.09	8.22	0.384	161.9	13.0	7.86	27.6	14.3

N = 56
*p $<$ .05
**p $\leq$ .01

RECENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AMONG THE EASTERN CHEROKEES

By

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"No part of Cherokee life has been more important to the Tribe, past or present, than that of good education" (Tribal Health Evaluation Report, 1975). This statement probably best states the Cherokee attitude toward education yet it has not been an easy task attempting to bridge the cultural gap existing between the Cherokee subculture and that of the larger dominant United States society. This paper looks at this phenomenon, the numerous attempts, failures, partial successes and the future potential of Cherokee educational endeavors.

First it is important to note that Cherokee education has a broader significance than what is commonly referred to as "formal education." Considerable evidence exist documenting the aboriginal educational process. Although this is a common phenomenon within folk cultures the Cherokee's distinctive cultural heritage attests to this groups unique acculturation and socialization process. Consequently the Cherokees were markedly different not only from that of the white man cut from other neighboring Indian groups as well (Reid, 1970). Certainly this required a strong emphasis on those crucial folk educational variables - acculturation and socialization, that is the process of learning the appropriate primary and secondary behavioral patterns within the aboriginal cultural environment.

ABORIGINAL SOCIALIZATION

One reason for the intensity of early Cherokee socialization was the degree of permanence these people had. Unlike most Native American groups the Cherokees lived in permanent farm villages. It is estimated that there were about sixty of these villages scattered over a vast territory that included parts of six southern states: Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. The village populations ranged from 300 to 600 inhabitants. The village structure was equally interesting since it consisted of individual log family dwellings and outbuildings all clustered together around a large seven-sided "Townhouse." This was their church and to denote its significance it was elevated on a mound so that it towered above all the other structures. In it was the sacred village fire which was kept burning year round and only extinquished and relit after their important new year "bouncing bush" festival. A stockade fence protected the village proper itself while the communal fields and pastures extended outwardly from this perimeter (Gearing, 1965).

Seven of these villages were known as "mother villages" representing the authority base of each of the Cherokee clans: Paint clan, Racoon clan Blue Panther clan, Long Hair clan, Bird clan, Wolf clan and Deer clan. This was the true regulatory agency among the aboriginal Cherokees. No tribal order per se existed other than in the time of crisis when one of the village chiefs would assume the leadership role temporarily (Mooney, 1972). One plausible reason for a lack of a tribal political order was the fact that some 20,000 Cherokees were scattered across such a vast territory. Moreover the permanency of the farming villages allowed for a more informal control mechanism to operate such as the clan structure. These villages clustered into four districts, Overhills, Lower Towns, Middle Settlement, and Valley Towns, with main links of communication and cooperation established within each region. Overtime each district even developed its own Cherokee dialect. Only the clan structure encompassed all the villages and districts (Reid, 1970).

What was unique about the Cherokee clan structure was that it was matrilineal meaning that lineage was passed along by the females and not the males like it is in most Western societies. In fact females had considerable power and authority among the early Cherokees. Not only was the groom compelled to take on his wife's name he had to move into her mother's village and take up residence (matrilocal) in his wife's home. Contractual marriages did not exist. And it was the female who had the ultimate say regarding her marriage. It also seems that the females had virtually total authority and responsibility for the early socialization of Cherokee children (Reid, 1970). Women participated as equals with the men in important village decisions. Crucial village issues were settled through a democratic process of consensus. Here either the "White Chief" or the "Red Chief" would preside depending if it was a domestic or foreign matter. Women had an equal voice with the men and apparently were not distinquished from them in these proceedings since the only distinction made was according to class affiliation. Each clan occupied their respective section of the seven-sided "Town House" during these debates and rituals (French, 1975).

The Cherokee cooperative farm, known as the "Gadugi," demanded a total commitment from all the villagers requiring an harmonious atmosphere. In order for this to occur it was necessary for the Cherokees to adequately socialize and train young people so that they could readily fulfill their respective adult role models. Moreover, acceptable avenues of tension release had to be made available for adult Cherokees so as to avert internal divisiveness. Both the early socialization role training and acceptable avenues of tension release were provided through the Cherokee's unique "Harmony Ethic" (Thomas, 1958).

The Harmony Ethic provided the regulatory norms for the early Cherokees. Harmony and avoidance seem to be the basic tenets of this social philosophy. Elaborate networks of avoidance, determined mostly by clan sanctions, minimized the needs for formal control mechanisms such as written laws, police agencies, formal courts or correctional institutions (French, 1976). Instead disapproval of internal altercations was stressed through informal mechanisms such as ostracism and ridicule while blood vengeance was employed in the most serious cases. Basically this ethic manifests certain traits conducive to the maintenance of a harmonious internal relationship, a necessary factor in a cooperative agricultural society. The Harmony Ethic results in a socialization process whereby: (1) a high value is placed on individual independence and a resentment of authority, with a complementary hesitancy to command others; (2) a wariness and cautiousness in relation to both human and nonhuman aspects of the environment; and (3) a distinct obligation to fulfill requests, either implicit or explicit, made by relatives and other Cherokees (Thomas, 1958). This results in a distinct behavioral pattern consisting of obligatory hospitality and sharing, impassivity in public behavior, the refusal or unwillingness to contradict, the absense of gestures in public behavior and the reticence to assume authority role.

Yet these behavioral patterns should be placed in their proper perspective before drawing the false conclusion that the early Cherokees were a passive lot. The hard work associated with the yearly harvest was punctuated with six festivals each celebrating an important stage of the agricultural process. First there was the festival of the "First New Moon of Spring" indicating it was planting time. This was followed by the "New Green Corn" and the "Green Corn" festivals which celebrated the progressive growth of the crop. Next came the festival of "The First Appearance of the October New Moon" signifying that harvest time was about to begin while the "Establishment of Friendship and Brotherhood" festival celebrating the successful harvest. Lastly, the entire village partook in the "Bouncing Bush" festival, a new year celebration marked by a communal cleansing accompanied by a blanket forgiveness for all previous transgressions. This agriculture season was known as "Summer" while the rest of the year constituted "Winter." In addition to these six agricultural festivals other frenzied activities were also sanctioned. "Stickball games" between villages, "animal dances" before the hunt and the "victory dance" following the war party purification period are other examples of sanctioned avenues of almost total unlicensed behavior which served as a controlled mechanism of tension release for the otherwise harmonious Cherokees (Mooney, 1972).

WHITE INFLUENCES IN CHEROKEE EDUCATION

A great transformation occurred during the late 1700's and early 1800's when the Cherokees changed from the old clan/village system to that of a republic patterned after that of the young nation - the United States. This new tribal endeavor became known as the Cherokee Nation but it was designed to retain the distinctive Indian ethnic heritage of this group. Assimilation into the larger United States culture apparently was never a serious consideration. Yet considerable resocialization, hence reeducation, had to occur for this drastic transformation to succeed. This bold experiment started in the late 1700's when "Little Turkey," of the Ustanali village, emerged as the first permanent tribal chief - known as the "Principal Chief." During his reign (1792-1808) clan and village authority was replaced with a representative form of government (the Grand Cherokee National Council) and the establishment of formal, legal controls (Regulating Companies). By 1822 and the mold for the Cherokee Nation was set culminating with the National Constitution in 1827. The preamble sounds similar to that of the young white nation - the United States.

"We, the representatives of the people of the Cherokee Nation in convention assembled, in order to establish justice, ensure tranquility, promote our common welfare, and secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessing of liberty; acknowledging with humility and gratitude the goodness of the sovereign Ruler of the Universe, in offering as an opportunity so favorable to the design, and imploring His aid and direction in its accomplishment, do ordain and establish this constitution for the Government of the Cherokee Nation."

It is common knowledge that this Nation was not allowed to co-exist, as initially planned, beside that of the larger white United States society and the Cherokee Nation was subsequently destroyed in 1838 when, after three years of legations, the bulk of the Cherokee people were gathered up, detained in prison stockades, and eventually forcefully removed to what was then known as "Indian Territory" (Oklahoma). A small contingency of Appalachian Cherokees were spared Forced Removal under the understanding that they would eventually become assimilated into the state of North Carolina deeding their land and becoming state citizens. This group later became known as the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Few Appalachian Cherokees complied with the conditions of this special arrangement (Treaty of 1835) leading to 140 years of harassment resolved finally in 1975.

A chronology of education development among both the early Cherokees and later, among the Eastern Band shows a strong correlation between education and religion. It seems that education was viewed by the larger white control apparatus as the best vehicle for controlling the Cherokee Indians. In 1799, only seven years after the establishment of a unified tribal government, the Moravian Society was successful in developing a "mission school" among the Cherokees. Five years later, in 1804, a Presbyterian minister opened another school among the Cherokees but it failed after a few years due to a lack of funding. But this was replaced with another Moravian Mission school started in 1821. Also, in 1817, the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" established its first station among the Cherokee Indians. An important consideration here was that the United States government aided in this educational endeavor providing funds for the construction of a school house, grist mill and workshops. This initial school prospered hence others were built serving some 200 Cherokee students by 1820. At the peak of the Cherokee Nation eighteen schools flourished only to be destroyed or abandoned following Removal (Kupferer, 1960).

Schooling declined among the Eastern Band as well, and when Indian Agent W. C. McCarthy assessed the situation in 1875, he found there were no schools and that few Appalachian Cherokees could speak English. The Eastern Cherokees did however continue to teach their own language and culture including the reading and writing of Cherokee. The current era began, for the most part, in 1881 when the Quakers offered their assistance to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. The Quakers and the tribe agreed to a ten year contract, subject to approval by the United States government, establishing an industrial school and other common schools. The contract was not renewed and on July 1, 1892 the United States government assumed control of the tribal schools. These were mainly boarding schools which followed a strict educational and socialization procedure (Tribal Report, 1976). Kupferer (1960) commented on the reaction of Eastern Cherokees toward these early boarding schools.

> "The mention of school elicits such reminiscence as: 'They put dresses on me to keep me from running away; Think maybe I be ashamed to go through Cherokee in a girl's dress, but I did anyway.' This speaker is a young man in his early 30's. Another man about 56, recalls that there was a 'little stone house they locked the runaway boys in ... they kept them from speaking Indian, too.' Speaking about forbidding Cherokee speech, another said, 'They used to make us work, or whip us, if they caught us speaking Indian. I didn't like that at all. I'm proud to say that I can read and write in my own language.' A woman of 65, agrees with his

comments, adding, 'Seemed like they wanted us to be white.' One final antidote illustrates how vivid these recollections are for some. 'Thompson,' I said, 'tell me about when you were in school.' Thompson is a man over 70. 'One feller he hold one arm and another hold another and one behind me whup me. They took seven sticks about that thick (he used his forefinger to illustrate the size) and whup me.' 'Why?' I asked. 'Running away, after that I runned away and never come back. They should'nt have done that to me' (Kupferer, 1960:186).

In 1913 a building program was initiated which brought the Indian schools up to date and in 1929 the Eastern Cherokees had their first modern junior high school. Prior to this all those going beyond elementary school were sent west to the consolidated Indian boarding schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Nonetheless time took its toll and these wooden structures eventually outlived their utility. This led to the building of a new, brick million dollar elementary school in 1962. And in 1975 the 7.5 million dollar ultra-modern Cherokee high school opened its doors. Indeed, the Cherokee people, through the effort of its tribal leaders, are the ones most responsible for this progress since they have been petitioning for federal assistance for these schools since the 1950's.

THE EDUCATIONAL PARADOX:

Discipline and white enculturation where the methods of the earlier schools among the Cherokees. Children were sent off to the boarding schools at an early age, sometimes as young as three or four, seeing their parents only on weekends. No high schools were available under the old system although a few gifted Cherokee students were allowed to attend boarding schools out west. But for most Cherokee students school was a harrowing experience. Enculturation was pursued with zeal and children were whipped and had their mouths washed out with soap for speaking Cherokee. Ostensibly the bitterness associated with the boarding schools is still felt by many older Cherokees today and no one really knows how this may have affected their influence over others such as their children and close relatives.

The stress on rigid formality, a behavioral concept generally unfamilar to the Cherokees, and the use of crude modes of behavioral modification to insure compliance to the desired school behavior, probably did more harm than good. It is common knowledge that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) maintained some of their schools much like reform schools giving the Indian students the feeling that they were inferior, immoral and potential deviates. Like other total institutions the rigid formality and social distance established between the white staff and Indian students and the student's seclusion from their traditional cultural heritage proved to be quite traumatic for many.

Unfortunately this basic educational philosophy continues to exist even today. Granted, the tactics have changed but the focus on destroying the native Indian culture and on forced enculturation are as strong as ever. Today the approach is more subtle. Drawing on the elaborate techniques devised recently in the discipline of educational psychology, imposed behavioral modification, that is the attempt to manipulate the student's psychic, has become a complex and expensive educational endeavor and the "Cherokee Follow-Through Program" offers a prime example. The METCOR agency which implements the Cherokee Follow-Through (F-T) program explains its objectives as such: "Funded to the Cherokee Indians tribal council in 1969, the Cherokee Follow-Through program was established primarily to provide a planned learning program for young children, grades kindergarten through three. Improvement of supportive services such as health, social and psychological services, nutrition, career development, and parent involvement was considered essential to the achievement of that primary educational objective, and thus these areas became corollary targets... The educational components of F-T utilizes the Engelmann-Becker model and is therefore geared to the notion that, with appropriate instruction, children who begin school with inadequate learning skills can learn at a faster-than-normal rate and can quickly close the gap between their initial skills level and that of the middle-class child" (Cherokee Follow-Through Program, 1974: i,ii).

In spite of its proposed objectives the Cherokee Follow-Through program is yet another attempt to destroy the remnants of the unique Cherokee folk culture and to replace it with that of the Protestant Ethic employed by the larger dominant society. Both the Protestant Ethic with its emphasis on individual achievement and competition and the Harmony Ethic with its focus on group cooperation and the avoidance of personal altercations are located at opposite ends of the epistemological methodological continuum. Hence the attempt to forcefully impose an alien educational/socialization program on a unique ethnic minority, like the Cherokees, strongly hints of ethnocentrism. The Cherokee Follow-Through program assumes it is desirable to condition children to learn basic educational skills. This is a behavioral modification program and the children are awarded 'points' for suitable behavior and achievement. These points are later redeemed for prizes at the end of the week. Structure is crucial to this program with little latitude allowed either the teacher or student. Some teachers have expressed dissatisfaction with this program complaining it leaves little discretion to the teachers especially regarding their ability to make qualitative judgements concerning the child. Success is measured strictly according to quantitative scores and the students are conditioned to succeed on tests. The students are grouped according to their reading ability and then receive instructions in these groups for math, language and reading. There is no spelling, science, history and very little music (20 minutes a week), or art (30 minutes a week). Cherokee language is taught a half-hour a week but not continued after the third grade. Tests are conducted every six weeks and group placement adjusted accordingly. A proficiency of eighty percent is required prior to advancement and if the student does not progress then he or she is run through the identical material again and again until they test at eighty percent.

The teachers are responsible for a certain amount of work and there is sometimes a not so subtle pressure applied if the students do not progress (the punishment end of the behavioral modification continuum). This pressure is bound to filter down to the children. But the school officials feel this is crucial since volumns of reports are necessary for continued federal funding. Each spring the Solsson Intelligence test, Wide Range Achievement test and Metropolitan Achievement test are administered. These are used in justifying the program's goal of having at least fifty percent of the Cherokee students testing above the national norm. Quantitatively the scores indicate that this objective has been accomplished but according to experts in the testing field, these tests have been, to a great extent, invalidated. The Slosson has only one form and is administered every year to the same children. Teaching materials indicate that there is an attempt to "teach for the test." The children are conditioned to discriminate the odd item, a skill used in these tests, rather than to internalize knowledge. Graphs are worked to show desired results. There are skipped years in the tested groups. Phrases are used such as 'all children tested' indicating the possibility that not all were tested. Only the response given in the teaching materials is accepted from the students and this is elicited from them by the teacher snapping her fingers. Hence the Cherokee student is conditioned to parrot certain responses and not to think for themself and certainly not to be creative. Every word spoken by teacher and student is fixed and must be adhered to. A child coming from a Harmony Ethic background into this learning environment is subjected to severe cultural shock on a daily basis. One mother stated that her little girl could not understand why she was not given points for doing her chores at home. The child's attitude was 'why act properly if I am not going to be rewarded (in material terms) for it.' Certainly something seems lacking in projects such as the Cherokee Follow-Through program. Maybe quickcure packaged programs are not the answer. Perhaps the answer to a successful educational model is one actively involving Cherokees themselves and not just another alien model forced upon them.

TOWARD A VIABLE CHEROKEE EDUCATION MODEL:

Many scholars have addressed themselves to the restrictive nature of our middle-class educational system. Thomas and Wahrhaftig (1971) emphasized the futility of our educational system (based on the Protestant Ethic) when applied to cultural out-groups, notably the Ozark Whites and Cherokees residing in Oklahoma. These authors felt that American subcultures, especially those which do not subscribe to the dictates of the Protestant Ethic are "out of it" in terms of benefitting from our educational process. The system fails because it no longer adequately absorbs marginal members into the dominant middle-class lifestyle. And while numerous others have written on the effects of multi-cultural learning situations, one thing becomes quite apparent - that our formal educational system serves a role other than merely "educating" per se. It's most crucial mandate is to socialize, that is to prepare students in such a fashion that they will be able to function within the existing socio-cultural system.

The challenge is to strengthen and preserve the positive attributes of our country's marginal subcultures using the cultural milieu as a vehicle for preparing these people to cope within multiple-cultural environments. Reinstating their cultural pride without adequately preparing them for the challenges of the dominant culture will be as futile an effort as past efforts have been. These efforts restricted access to their traditional culture while only partially availing them access to the dominant culture. And even among those few who have been successfully "assimilated" many often later come to resent this success and begin searching for their lost heritage.

Any viable multi-cultural educational model will place tremendous responsibility on the academic end of this relationship. The most important factor will be overcoming ethnocentrism, or what Max Weber referred to as our "value orientation." Teachers must be sensitive to their students needs and must be able to empathize with their students and to do this they must first become aware of the cultural differences existing between the larger dominant society and those of the particular subculture. Burger (1968), in his work "Ethno-Pedagogy", emphasized the role of the teacher as a bi-cultural agent. This is an important first step. Equally important, the instructional model must be capable of explaining the dominant value system in terms of the subcultural value system. Dreeben (1967) in, "The Contribution of Schooling to the Learning of Norms", stressed the relationship of learning norms of independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity within our educational system. These are all important values within the Protestant Ethic. Again, the challenge is to translate these values in terms of the particular folk culture where often the group, and not the individual, may be the primary focus of attention. A third step involves the teachers' interest in their students. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) mentioned this in their work "Pygmalion in the Classroom". They found a direct relationship exists between teacher expectation and student achievement. It is not enough to merely have Indian or Black teachers teaching minority students. Race or sex of the teacher apparently plays a minor role in regards to actual academic productivity. What really counts is having concerned, competent teachers.

A group of concerned Cherokees have been actively working on the educational problem existing at the Qualla Boundary. They have been working on this for a couple of years now and progress would probably have been minimal if it had not been for the construction of the new 7.5 million dollar Cherokee high school. While such an elaborate facility in itself will not improve the level of instruction, it is hoped that it will inspire new hope in many students who otherwise would leave school prematurely. Especially important is the new adult education center operating at the school. College-level courses are for the first time being offered on the reservation making it possible for adults to complete up to two years of college. Again, these programs by no means guarantee success. In order to insure success, however, concerned Cherokees offered their own input into the educational situation. First a Native American student organization was formed. The organization's objectives are:

1. To promote a sense of unity among Cherokee students attending college.

2. To encourage other Cherokees, both adults and high school students, to go on to college.

3. To establish a tutorial and counseling program designed to help the Cherokee student adapt to this new cultural and academic setting. Few faculty and administrators realize that the Cherokee "Harmony Ethic" differs considerably from the larger White "Protestant Ethic". For this tutorial and counseling program to be effective the faculty tutors and counselors will have to first familiarize themselves with these cultural differences.

4. To establish a Cherokee studies minor or concentration for Cherokee students. This would be multi-discipline and would aid these future leaders in continuing their cultural heritage.

5. To actively promote the Cherokee culture.

6. To gain recognition for the Cherokee's academic accomplishments and to use the organization as a vehicle for obtaining grants, scholarships, etc., as well as exploring potential job prospects and graduate studies.

In addition, the Cherokee Student Organization sponsored a community-wide meeting for Cherokee in-put into a new federal grant awarded to a state university located some twenty miles away from the reservation. Their suggestions are as follows:

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SUMMER PREPARATORY PROGRAM FOR CHEROKEE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND ADULTS ANTICIPATING FURTHERING THEIR EDUCATION:

   Here it was suggested that special programs be devised and implemented to ascertain the particular needs of Cherokee students while still in high school. The ensuing special programs should include such topics as "how to study", "what is expected of the college student", "adjusting to cultural shock" as well as special preparatory courses for those with academic deficits. Most felt that these preparatory programs should utilize special classroom environments, one that draws the student into the curriculum.

2. ACADEMIC YEAR TUTORIAL PROGRAMS FOR ENROLLED REGULAR STUDENTS:

   It was strongly felt that one of the most important goals of any revised program designed at improving the quality of Cherokee education is the availability of concerned, competent tutors and counselors. As the situation stands now many feel that without this service Western Carolina University's high Cherokee attrition rate will just continue.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SPECIAL ADULT EXTENSION PROGRAM AT CHEROKEE:

   This has been already established since our initial meeting but again many are concerned with the quality of this program.

It seems that again, as in the past, limited communication between high administrative officials was involved in the establishment of the Cherokee extension campus. If these same people have failed in past efforts what makes them so certain that renewed programs will bring about more productive results? Many Cherokees who are receptive to the educational needs of their people, but seldom consulted, feel that for the extension program to truly benefit the Cherokees, items (1), (2), (4), (5) and (6) of this proposal must first be seriously considered.

4. ON-GOING NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURAL WORKSHOPS:

This proposal was felt to be a very important one especially by those members of the tribe who have had exposure to outside academic institutions such as Western Carolina University. It is felt that Western Carolina University faculty, especially those involved in teaching Cherokee students, should participate in these workshops. These cultural workshops certainly should be compulsory for tutors. The basis for this type of exchange is that often students and faculty come from different cultural backgrounds being unaware of conflicting values which may impede the learning process (ethnocentrism).

5. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STUDENT COMPANIONSHIP PROGRAM:

Here members of the Cherokee Student Organization would work on a one-to-one basis with potential college students helping orient them to their new academic environment. This program is intended to better prepare the potential student psychologically, culturally and academically for their prospective role as university student. This interchange could lead to orientation credit for the new student and credit toward the "Cherokee minor" for the assisting Cherokee Student Organization member (see item #7).

6. THE UTILIZATION OF A CHEROKEE ADVISORY GROUP:

This organization should comprise of members from the Cherokee Student Organization, tribal council, the Cherokee Advisory School Board, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and others with the purpose of aiding in any and all Western Carolina University and the Qualla Boundary, providing valuable in-put and feedback concerning Cherokee's educational need.

7. THE CREATION OF A CHEROKEE MINOR AT WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY:

Strong interest was shown toward the development of Native American courses at Western Carolina University which would not only benefit Indian and non-Indian students alike but also would provide for a Cherokee minor for students from the Qualla Boundary. It is felt that this would provide an additional incentive for many potential college students while at the same time providing an invaluable service by helping the Cherokees preserve their cultural heritage.

CONCLUSIONS:

This model represents merely the tip of the iceburg. Many other similar programs involving a multitude of minority subcultures must also be initiated. These trial and error situations are the most valuable learning experiences for our educational system. Once we have sufficient feedback and in-put from these diverse subcultural experiences then we can attempt to integrate them into the larger educational model so that all Americans can share this knowledge. Accordingly, we can greatly improve our personal horizons by sharing in the wealth of information generated by the various unique groups comprising our highly heterogenous society. To do this we need a viable educational epistemology, one that is both broad and flexible. This is the challenge for our future not more and more reliance on forced accomodation often through rigidly structured and often unpopular enforced laws.

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EFFECT OF FARM BACKGROUND ON ATTITUDES OF AGRICULTURAL STUDENTS AT CLEMSON UNIVERSITY[1]

Virlyn A. Boyd and Nancy J. Pettigrew[2]

Background:

The second half of the decade of the seventies has seen a marked increase in the enrollment in agricultural curricula in many colleges and universities in the U.S.[3] Possible reasons for this increase include such factors as an increasing concern for the environment and for conservation of our natural resources, an increasing awareness of the importance of the problem of world food supply, and an increasing interest in programs such as ornamental horticulture and veterinary medicine with a specialty in small animal care.

Whatever the reasons for the increase, the additional enrollment is reason for colleges of agriculture to examine their course offerings with a view toward making them more nearly meet the needs of their students. Traditionally, a large proportion of agricultural majors have had an on-farm or at least a rural background and courses have been structured with this in mind. However, the recent increases in enrollment have come at a time when an increasing proportion of agricultural students have neither a farm nor a rural background. This is reason for giving consideration to the need for restructuring courses to compensate for this non-agricultural background of today's agricultural students. The extent to which this restructuring of courses is needed or even desirable is a matter of conjecture at this point.

Source of Data

Data from a research project conducted at Clemson University during the school year 1975-76 provide an opportunity to examine the extent and degree to which this non-farm background of students majoring in agriculture constitute a problem. A questionnaire on career orientations was administered to 90 freshmen students majoring in agriculture during the fall semester and to 106 seniors during the spring semester of the school year 1975-76. Analysis of selected data from these questionnaires provides an opportunity to compare answers given by students with a farm background with those given by students with a non-farm background.

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[1] Paper presented at the Rural Sociology Section of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists, Atlanta, Ga., February 6-9, 1977.

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[3] For example, according to data supplied by the Director of Resident Instruction, undergraduate enrollment in the College of Agricultural Sciences at Clemson University increased by 91% from school year 1972-73 to 1976-1977.

One of the questions was stated as follows:

"Where have you lived most of your life?"

_____1. In a large city (10,000 or over)

_____2. In a small city (2,500 to 10,000)

_____3. Town or village (under 2,500)

_____4. In the country, but not on a farm

_____5. On a farm

A tabulation of the answers to this question is included in Table 1. Analysis of data indicates that as compared to the freshmen, a higher proportion of the senior students had lived on a farm most of their lives. Conversely 30.0 percent of the freshmen but only 19.8 percent of the seniors reported that they had lived most of their lives in a city of 10,000 or over.

For purposes of this paper, those students who indicated that they had lived on a farm most of their lives will be classified as having a farm background, and those students who indicated that they had lived in a city of 10,000 or over most of their lives will be considered as having a city background. The intermediate categories of (a) small city, (b) town or village, and (c) in the country but not on a farm will not be included.

Since a preliminary examination of the answers given by the freshmen and seniors revealed very minor differences, the remainder of the analysis will not treat the freshmen and seniors separately but will consist of a comparison of answers given by students (both freshmen and seniors) who have a "city" background with those with a "farm" background.

Table 1. Residential Background of Students Majoring in Agriculture at Clemson Univeristy, 1975-76.

	Freshman		Seniors		Total	
Residential Background	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
City 10,000 or over	27	30.0	21	19.8	48	24.5
City 2,500 - 10,000	21	23.3	19	17.9	40	20.4
Town or Village	10	11.2	13	12.3	23	11.7
In Country but no on Farm	4	3.3	15	14.2	19	9.7
On a Farm	28	31.1	38	35.8	66	33.7
Total	90		106		196	

The following question was used to determine the level of the student's educational aspirations:

"If you could have as much formal education as you desired, which of the following would you do?"

_____1. Quit school right now

_____2. Complete a technical, business, or vocational program

_____3. Complete work for an associate degree

_____4. Complete work for a bachelors degree

_____5. Complete a program for a masters degree

_____6. Complete a program for a program for a professional degree (vet, law, etc.)

_____7. Complete a program for a doctroal degree

Answers given to this question are summarized in Table 2. A higher proportion of the "city" students expressed a desire to continue their education beyond the bachelor's degree.

Table 2. Educational Aspirations of Clemson University Agriculture Students by Farm or City Background, 1976

	Where Student Lived Most of Life			
	City		Farm	
Educational Aspiration	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Quit Now	--	--	2	3.0
Technical	--	--	--	--
Associates	--	--	1	1.5
Bachelors	13	27.1	22	33.3
Masters	13	27.1	17	25.8
Professional	12	25.0	13	19.7
Ph.D.	10	20.8	11	16.7
No Answer	--	--	--	--
N =	48		66	

Influence of Selected Persons or Factors on Choice of Major

In an attempt to determine the extent of influence of selected persons or factors on the students' choice of a major the following question was asked:

How influential have each of the following people and/or things been in helping you to choose your college major? (Circle one number for each of the following)

		Very Influential	Some Influence	Little Influence	No Influence
a.	Parents	4	3	2	1
b.	Friends	4	3	2	1
c.	High school counselor	4	3	2	1
d.	Vo Ag teacher	4	3	2	1
e.	Home Economics teacher	4	3	2	1
f.	Job opportunities in this field	4	3	2	1
g.	Demand for minorities in this field: (a) race (b) sex	4	3	2	1
h.	Personal interest in field	4	3	2	1
i.	Personal job experience	4	3	2	1
j.	By chance	4	3	2	1

Responses to this question are presented in Table 3.

Examination of the data in Table 3 reveals several interesting differences in the level of influence of selected individuals or on choice of major of students from a farm background as compared to those who had lived in a large city most of their lives. Over one out of three of the farm students but only one out of five of the city students reported that their parents had been very influential in their choice of a major. Conversely one-third of the city students but only one-fourth of the farm students majoring in agriculture reported that their parents had had little or no influence in their choice of a major.

Table 3. Degree of Influence of Selected People or Factors on Choice of Major of Clemson Students in Agriculture 1976 by Farm or City Background of Students

People or Factors and Degree of Influence	Students by Background			
	City		Farm	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Parents				
Little or No Influence	16	33.3	16	24.2
Some Influence	22	45.8	25	37.9
Very Influential	10	20.9	25	37.9
Friends				
Little or No Influence	37	77.1	41	62.1
Some Influence	9	18.7	16	24.3
Very Influential	2	4.2	9	13.6
High School Counselor				
Little or No Influence	44	91.7	55	83.3
Some Influence	3	6.2	5	7.6
Very Influential	1	2.1	6	9.1
Vo-Ag Teacher				
Little or No Influence	40	83.3	40	60.6
Some Influence	--	--	10	15.2
Very Influential	2	4.2	14	21.2
No Answer	6	12.5	2	3.0
Job Opportunities				
Little or No Influence	13	27.1	7	10.6
Some Influence	13	27.1	25	37.9
Very Influence	22	45.8	34	51.5
Sex of Student				
Little or No Influence	45	93.7	58	87.9
Some Influence	1	2.1	2	3.0
Very Influential	--	--	--	--
No Answer	2	4.2	6	9.1
Personal Interest				
Little or No Influence	1	2.1	--	--
Some Influence	3	6.2	7	10.6
Very Influential	44	91.7	59	89.4
Personal Job Experience				
Little or No Influence	23	47.9	4	6.1
Some Influence	12	25.0	26	39.4
Very Influential	13	27.1	36	54.5
College Professor*				
Little or No Influence	10	47.6	23	60.5
Some Influence	7	33.3	12	31.6
Very Influential	4	19.0	3	7.9
College Course*				
Little or No Influence	7	33.3	11	28.9
Some Influence	6	28.6	16	42.2
Very Influential	8	38.1	11	28.9

*Includes responses of Seniors only.

High school counselors were not reported as being very influential by either group. This is in accord with the long held suspicion that high school counselors are either not aware of the opportunities in the field of agriculture or they are not prone to advise students in this direction.

It is not surprising that Vo Ag teachers were listed as very influential by 21 percent of the farm students but only 4.2% of the city students. Fewer and fewer students in both urban and rural schools have the opportunity to take Vo Ag in high school.

Job opportunities were listed as being very influential by more of the farm students than the city students. Students who grew up on a farm would quite likely have more personal knowledge of job opportunities in agriculture than would those who grew up in a city.

Personal interest was rated as very influential by a high proportion of students of both groups.

Personal job experience was ranked as very influential by over half of the farm studenents but only one-fourth of the city students. It is probable that more of the farm students had had opportunities for job experience related to agriculture.

As might be expected, both college courses and college professors were considered to be very influential in the choice of a major by a higher proportion the city students than of the farm students. This group was composed of Senior students and many of them had changed to agriculture after beginning college in some other curriculum.

Prestige and Potential of Career Choice

Answers to a series of questions designed to determine attitudes of the students about the relative prestige and potential of agriculture compared to other career choices are summarized in Table 4. A slightly higher proportion of the city students considered agriculture to have relatively high prestige. As compared to the farm students, a higher proportion of city students considered agriculture to offer a high potential for making money. Over eighty percent of both farm and city students felt that agriculture is a growing industry. Opportunities for advancement in agriculture were received more optimistically by city students than by farm students.

Limitations and Implications

In an analysis of this type, it should be remembered that the proportion of the total population living on farms is declining and therefore, it is not surprising that a smaller proportion of students in agriculture have a farm background. Also it should be remembered that there is little if any firm evidence that lack of a farm background is a deterrent to either being successful as a college student in agriculture or in having a successful career

Table 4. Attitudes about Prestige and Potential of Career Choice of Clemson University Students Majoring in Agriculture by Farm or City Background, 1975-76

	Students by Background			
	City		Farm	
Social Standing of Career Choice	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High Prestige	12	25.0	15	22.7
Average Prestige	33	68.8	50	75.8
Low Prestige	3	6.2	1	1.5
Potential for Making Money				
High	23	47.9	22	33.3
Medium	23	47.9	42	63.6
Low	2	4.2	2	3.1
Feelings About Career				
Growing industry	40	83.3	53	80.3
Neither growing nor declining	7	14.6	9	13.6
Declining industry	1	2.1	4	6.1
Understanding of Opportunities				
Good understanding	21	43.8	34	51.5
Some understanding	19	39.5	31	47.0
Little or no understanding	7	14.6	1	1.5
No answer	1	2.1		
Opportunities for Advancement				
More than other fields	17	35.4	15	22.7
Same as other fields	27	56.3	46	69.7
Less than other fields	3	6.2	5	7.6
No answer	1	2.1		

in some phase of agriculture or agribusiness. Also, it might be helpful to compare attitudes of farm and city students about agriculture with attitudes about other specific career choices.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLS IN NORTH CAROLINA

G. Bryan Wall*

Introduction

Recently the Wake County School System and the Wake County Recreation Department announced the development of a program of shared use of public school physical education facilities for public recreation. While this program is limited in both scope and number of students involved it nevertheless represents an emerging trend to more intensive use of existing public school facilities. The recently announced program is an excellent example of the joint use of public school facilities in the development of a community school.

This publication is an outgrowth of research conducted to determine the degree of economies of scale of senior high schools from a capital expenditure approach [6]. The conclusions reached through that research were that (1) there does exist significant economies of scale associated with high school gymnasium construction as measured by capital expenditures and (2) that schools are located such that one would expect sufficient user demand to justify the use of school physical education facilities for community recreation. With the documentation of such capital expenditure economies the question arises as to what is the most appropriate means of taking advantage of such economies. The most obvious answer is to simply build large physical education facilities in order to take advantage of the declining costs per student. On the basis of the trend toward consolidation of high schools this appears to be the most widely used procedure. The alternative to be presented here is that it is economically feasible for small cities and towns to initiate a program of joint use of public school facilities in order to upgrade the quality of local public recreation as well as a means of taking advantage of the capital expenditures economies of scale.

Community School Concept and Its Importance to Local Recreation

In North Carolina the number of full-time recreation and parks departments on a municipal level have increased from 41 in 1964 to 71 in 1974. This increase of 73 percent means that all cities in North Carolina with populations over 7,500 have, at least nominally, a full-time recreation and parks program. The average per capita expenditure for municipal parks and recreation departments more than doubled during the eight year time span from 1966 through 1974 on a deflated, per capita basis. On the average, the capital improvement budget accounted for 23 percent of the total recreation budget for the reporting municipalities[5]. The interpretation of these figures is that in order for a locality to operate a viable community recreation program, it can realistically expect to allocate almost a quarter of the total budget to capital improvements.

A recent publication by the Agricultural Extension Service [2] has shown that while the majority of the citizens of North Carolina view the lack of adequate recreation facilities as being either a moderate or serious community problem they are at the same time unwilling to expend additional public monies to upgrade local recreation programs. What is needed is a means whereby municipalities, especially those with limited tax bases, can finance viable community recreation programs.

One of the major advantages to the community school concept of shared facility use is that such a program can result in substantial dollar savings, especially from a capital expenditure approach [1]. If this is indeed so, then it would appear that the shared facility use concept is a viable means of upgrading local public recreation. What follows is an explanation of how the concept of a community school can be adopted to the recreation needs of a municipality.

Policy of Shared Use

The concept of a community school was initiated in 1938 in Flint, Michigan, where the program was originally, and to some degree still is, financed privately by the Mott Foundation [4]. The initial impetus behind the program was to provide playground and recreational facilities for school age children during school vacations and holidays. The recently announced Wake County, North Carolina program, while some 38 years later than the one in Flint, Michigan is designed to function along the same guidelines.

One means of illustrating the most efficient use of the community school concept in saving capital expenditure outlays is to present alternative program designs. One such program is the status quo situation of the school authorities and the parks and recreation authorities conducting two separate programs with each body responsible for providing adequate facilities for their programs. An alternative program calls for shared financing of school gymnasiums by both agencies on a per student basis.

In order to accurately reduce the cost of gymnasium construction to a per student basis it was necessary to estimate the construction and equipment costs for high school gymnasiums of the same general construction characteristics but varying in capacity. The effect of this is to accentuate the variability associated with changing capacity enrollments (Bressler, 1948). The cost estimates are separated by school type into either senior high or four year high schools. The general floor areas of the gymnasiums are based on historical averages with design improvements included which were subject to the inspection of the Division of School Planning, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction. The end result is an accurate representative cost estimate of a typical high school gymnasium. The floor area estimates are based on North Carolina averages. One reason for the presence of significant construction economies is the increase in degree of intensity of use as the student enrollment increases. This implies that while the smaller sized school has more space per physical education student the cost per student is correspondingly higher. If the assumption can be made that smaller communities and municipalities operate smaller sized schools of either type then the conclusion to be drawn is that such areas are operating physical education facilities with high per student capital expenditure costs that are not being intensively used. Such an arrangement would seem to lend itself to a system whereby the recreation authorities share the school owned facilities by agreeing to pay the variable costs associated with the daily operation of the facilities.

This was exactly the procedure followed by the city of Flint, Michigan in 1938. Until 1975 such a procedure was illegal in North Carolina because two or more government bodies were not allowed to enter into written contract with one another. The 1975 General Assembly, however, has removed that obstacle by allowing contractoral agreements between governing units, "with or without consideration", with the passage of Senate Bill 868. The only major obstacle that remains is the political considerations which are inevitable when the public asks one government unit to yield some control over its facilities to another such unit. Figure 1 is a sample time schedule for the shared use of any given school facility. This specific is taken from the Thomas Jefferson School and Community Center, Arlington, Virginia. The assumption can be made that this is an existing facility and therefore the use of the gymnasium facility is reserved for the school until after school hours.

If a daytime recreation program is desired that would cause scheduling conflicts during school hours it would be possible for both agencies to jointly design and construct a common facility. This is true because an increase in size by 20 percent would not add 20 percent to the total construction cost. This is also the method that is expected to yield the largest dollar savings to both agencies. In the previous example, the leased use of school property, there is no capital expenditure savings to the school authority since the facility is leased for an amount equal to its variable costs of operation. If the facility is jointly constructed there can be substantial capital savings to both parties. For example, if a community desires to construct a new senior high school with a design capacity of 1200 students, then they can expect a per student cost of approximately $413.69, [6] for a gymnasium facility of some 17,242 square feet or 14.36 square feet per student. For comparison, the city of Raleigh, North Carolina has recently (1974) completed a capital improvement program where they paid $214,000 for the building and equipment for each of two 10,000 square feet recreation centers and $292,000 each for four 16,000 square feet centers. If some municipality were considering the simultaneous construction of a 1200 pupil senior high school and a 10,000 square feet recreation center the two projects could be combined. Assuming a capital expenditure of 324.12 per pupil, that price associated with the 2200 pupil school, and a contributing amount of $107,486 by the recreation authorities, a 17,242 square feet facility, identical to that planned by the school authority, could be constructed. The total capital expenditure to the school authority would be $388,944. The school authority saves the difference in cost per student (413.69 - $324.12 = $89.57) over 1200 students for a total savings of $107,486 and the recreation authority saves some $106,514. If a larger center is desired, the school authority could spend $336.68 per pupil or $403,896 and the recreation authority some $201,957 to construct a facility with 23,360 square feet identical to the 1800 pupil school model. The savings to both agencies is less, $104,577 rather than $214,000, but the gymnasium space is larger by some 35 percent [6].

These figures are somewhat misleading in that the 1800 pupil school gymnasium estimates include both locker facilities and bleacher seating for substantially larger groups than that needed by a 1200 pupil school. Also since the recreation center's estimates do not allow for spectator seating and locker facilities the savings estimates are understated. These cost figures assume two separate sets of equipment. The shared use of a single set would increase the dollar savings. The conclusion is that there are substantial capital cost savings to be derived from a system of shared facility use. The savings would be similar for four year as well as senior high schools.

In tabular form the savings can be seen more clearly. For the first example of the 1200 pupil school, the estimated costs to each agency is shown below.

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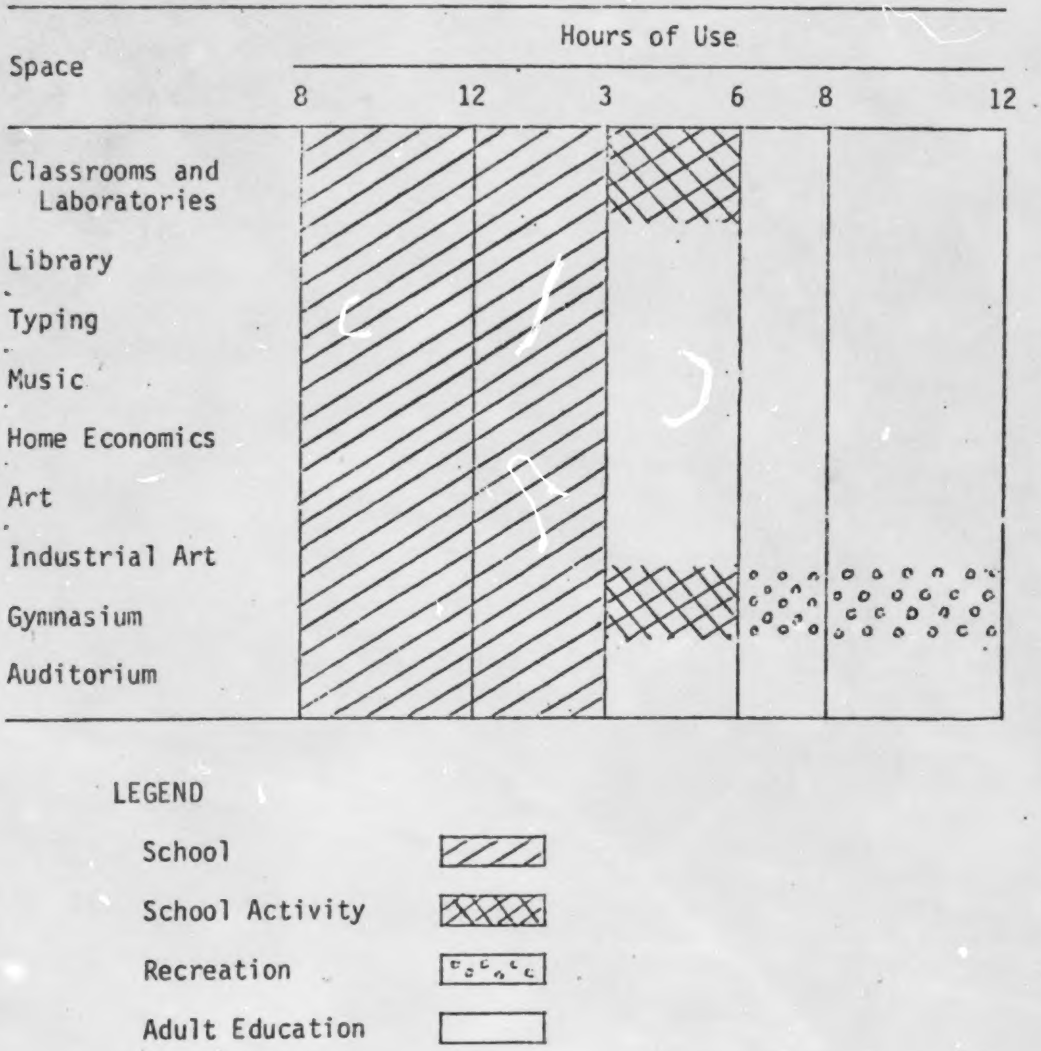
Figure 1. Schedule of Shared Use of Public School Facilities During School Days



PUBLIC AGENCY	CAPITAL INVESTMENT INDEPENDENT CONSTRUCTION	SHARED USE	SAVING FROM SHARED USE
School Board	496,430	388,944	107,486
Recreation Department	214,000	107,486	106,514
TOTAL	710,430	496,430	214,000

Again, program quality considerations must enter any decision for shared use. The high school may become more of a community "place" through shared use, but conflicts over schedules and maintenance effort might well arise. It is clear that shared use would gain economies for smaller schools and would stretch limited capital when school building and recreation funds come from a common source.

Intensity of Use

Graphically these figures would illustrate that for senior highs there would be a significant cost advantage in the selection of a gymnasium designed for an 1800 pupil school for any enrollment larger than 900 students. There is an economic advantage in constructing a large gymnasium facility, generally associated with a school of 1800 total enrollment, and operating it at one-half capacity rather than to build an average sized gymnasium associated with a school of 1200 total enrollment and operate it at 75 percent of capacity for a 900 pupil school. There is however, little cost advantage in the construction of a 2200 pupil school as far as the gymnasium is concerned. In other words, economies in the construction of the gymnasium associated with the largest senior high school do not justify the construction of such facilities.

The reason behind this is to be found in the previously mentioned intensity of use. The average area per physical education student in the model senior highs declines from 74.24 square feet for the smallest school to 39.99 square feet for the very large school, a total reduction of 46 percent. The same relationship exists for the standard four-year schools [6].

For the four year schools the results are even more pronounced in that the very large school gymnasium facility is superior on an average cost per student basis for enrollments as small as 400 students.

The intensity of use is also more pronounced in the four year schools with the reduction in floor space per physical education student being some 52 percent as opposed to the 46 percent for senior highs.

Implications of Shared Facility Use

The intention here is not to make a case for a single optimum size school but rather to show that the physical education facility does contribute to the overall construction economies of scale. It is possible to take advantage of such economies through the shared use of gymnasium facilities. The elimination of this source of scale economies can decrease the incentive to construct very large school plants. One means of doing so is to share the initial investment necessary to construct a given school gymnasium between school authorities and any local agency in whose interest it is to provide community recreation.

An indexed scale would show that the investment per student for the small four-year school is twice that of the very large four-year school and approximately 80 percent greater for small senior highs than for large ones.

One could argue that what is true for the small schools is true for the larger ones as well and therefore the shared use of the larger school facilities would produce the same general result. This argument is correct. However, in this case one is speaking of a large facility such as a consolidated school in, for instance, a sparsely populated area. The question arises as to whether or not people would travel to the school to participate in community recreation programs. The point here turns on the well discussed topic of the trade-off that exists between the decrease in processing costs per unit as plant size increases and the increased transport costs necessary to assemble the needed inputs. This emphasizes the fact that there exists a trade off between the cost advantage of increased numbers of schools, made possible through shared facility use, and a demand sufficiently large to justify the improved access to community recreation programs.

Community Involvement

While the concept of a community school is not new there still exists general confusion about the distinction between community and neighborhood schools. Community schools are vehicles which provide opportunities for community involvement and decision making. They are for the entire community and are often located in the neighborhood school. The community school is premised on the ultimate goal of community involvement and participation while the neighborhood school is usually oriented toward skill attainment, and individual self-enrichment for a specified age group.

There is significant support for the community school concept, especially on the grass roots level. The 600 school districts in the United States committed to the community school concept include both large and small districts. Some of the large systems committed to this concept include Miami, Atlanta, Toledo, Detroit, St. Louis, New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, Indianapolis and Minneapolis[1] [3].

As mentioned before, this report does not advocate the immediate acceptance of the concept of a totally integrated school as far as community use is concerned. What is advocated is the limited use of local schools to aid in providing the community with various "soft-core" social services such as recreation, and library facilities. The basis for the advocacy is two-fold (1) because any monetary savings to be realized will come from the shared use of previously existing school buildings and (2) because there is a need, especially in the smaller towns and cities with limited tax bases, for an immediate upgrading of such soft-core social services [2].

While the community school movement was initiated through private sources, most notably the Mott Foundation in Flint, Michigan, the movement is beginning to attract the attention of state legislators. In the last several years a number of states, including Florida, Utah, and Michigan have enacted legislation in support of community schools to provide either matching or supplemental monies [3].

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[1] As reported in Mott Foundation Annual Report 1970, p. 24, no indication is given to the degree of committment.

Cost of Integrating Social Services in School Buildings

Throughout the course of this study there has been no discovery of any insurmountable cost barriers associated with the sharing of facilities by social services organizations and school authorities. What has been found is that there are significant savings in the capital cost areas. With regard to operating costs there are savings to be had but not of the same magnitude as the capital costs. The two most explicit examples would be the location of parks and recreation facilities or public library facilities in or next to a school building. The same argument applies to the use of school facilities and classrooms during non-school hours by community groups and adult education classes. What is involved in each of these cases is the possibility of a more efficient use of existing facilities through contractual agreements.

It is doubtful however that savings can be realized by locating daytime social services in school buildings. The use of school facilities during non-school hours is quite different from locating social services that operate on a regular work day basis in school buildings. Separate space would be necessary if more than one group would need access to the facility at the same time of day. In short the distinction to be made here is that it is apparent that the shared use of school facilities with "soft-core" social services such as recreation and adult education can result in significant capital costs and to a lesser degree operating costs savings. It is not anticipated that locating "hard-core" social services such as welfare services and public health clinics in or adjacent to public schools will produce either type of cost savings since such programs operate on a normal work day schedule concurrent to those of the public schools.

Summary and Conclusion

The integration of some social services with schools offers an opportunity for sizeable capital expenditure cost savings. These savings are to be realized from a more efficient utilization of existing public schools or through the joint planning and construction of anticipated public schools. The social services that lend themselves to such a program of shared use are those "soft-core" social services such as recreation, libraries, auditoriums, and the use of the schools by adult education programs and community organizations.

This report while general in nature is intended to impress upon the reader the cost advantage inherent in a system of shared facility use. The decision process underlying the location and construction of schools is not the sole function of economic considerations. The decision process is oftentimes a combination or economic, demographic and political factors. The purpose of this report is simply to bring to attention an additional point to be considered when local planners embark on a program of capital improvements for either schools or recreation facilities.

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Citizens Participation in Education Planning: Adams and Jefferson Counties, Mississippi*

BY: Lamar A. Braxton

I bring you greetings from the Adams-Jefferson Improvement Corporation Board of Directors, its staff and its clients. At present, the clients of this agency consist of residents of Adams, Jefferson, Wilkinson, Amite and Pike counties, located in the Southwestern part of the State of Mississippi. Jefferson, Adams and Wilkinson counties having as their western boundaries the Mississippi River. This is of particular significance since much of this country's development was enhanced by having access to the mighty Mississippi River and yet two of these counties, Jefferson and Wilkinson have in no way in recent years benefited economically or socially from this natural resource.

We take the liberty to point out these environmental factors, because we are reasonably sure that each of us comes from an area abounding in certain kinds of peculiar natural resources that have not been adequately developed and as scientists living in the most economically deprived section of this great nation, your greatest contribution might very well be, to go back to each of your communities, reassess its resources and then begin to put together the kinds of strategies necessary to have the greatest impact on the economic and social fabric of your community.

By the way, what this leads to may very well be Models of Social Change Applied to Educational Planning: some of the tools you will need to be effective in the planning process are:
STRATEGIES - Approaches to providing a solution to the problems.

1. Land use planning
2. Industrial Parks
3. Recruiting Industry
4. Developing Home Grown Industries
5. Availability of Highways
6. Human Resource Development (Labor Pools)
7. Evaluating Community Resources
8. Joint Ventures (Business and Government; Business and Industry; Industry and Education; Education and Government; Blacks and Whites; Poor and Middle Class)
9. Corporation - The Adams-Jefferson Improvement Corporation has been instrumental in developing five local corporations and as each of us is very keenly aware, for the last five years some of the more successful businesses in the county have fallen upon hard times; and less than one out of five new businesses last through the first year and even fewer make the five year benchmark.

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Sheraton Biltmore Hotel - Atlanta, Georgia

However, in an area where a majority of the people have not had the opportunity to participate in group economic ventures, where watching the bottom line means the difference between success and failure, it was my opinion that inevitably these particular ventures would fail, without the assistance of a depressed economy, and double digit inflation on an annual basis.

In spite of this, all was not lost in the process; for we look around the community and see numbers of persons who have gone on to form successful single proprietorships, partnerships and corporations as a result of the experience they acquired in their roles in the corporations initiated by the Adams-Jefferson Improvement Corporation.

Perhaps the major thesis here is that Rural Vocational Educational Planning in the Southeastern region of the United States might very well be that much of the Educational Planning must necessarily come by way of the "back door" or through vicarious experiences. For we are of the opinion that one of the major problems facing this region, at this time especially as it relates to the profit motive, is that unfortunately a large block of its population has no frame of references from which to draw or models to emulate when it comes to the profit making process.

Consequently, in the years immediately ahead, the educational process must necessarily include as a part of all curriculae, the profit making processes. The partnership in this venture must include schools, colleges, universities, fraternities, government, business, industry and yes, the church.

Much of the success of the Adams-Jefferson Improvement Corporation is due to the cooperation of black churches in making their resources available to it. When the white church becomes equally as responsive to the total needs of the community, this country will be moving very close to meeting the challenge as espoused in the Declaration of Independence where it states: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are, Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness..."

The major focus of the Adams-Jefferson Improvement Corporation has been on four major areas: Human Resource Development, Joint Ventures, Affirmative Action Plans and Policies, and Evaluating Community Resources.

To be successful in the areas lister above, everyone involved has had to have a working knowledge of the decision making processes of the community, especially the following mechanism used in decision making.

1. Leadership of the community
2. Leadership styles (Metternichian, Nixonian or Carterian)
3. Power Structures
4. Commissions
5. "Status Quo"
6. "Turf"
7. Boards of Directors
8. Committees
9. Elected Officials
10. Executive Directors
11. Advisory Boards, Commissions and Committees
12. Chambers of Commerce
13. Civic Clubs (Kiwanis, Optimist, Civitan, etc.)
14. Civil Rights Groups (ACLU, NAACP, Urban League, etc.)

To be successful, in the many endeavors that we have undertaken, has required a great deal of finance; with Board of Directors having much to say about it. In this regard I am reminded of what C. Northcote Parkinson says in his book "Parkinson Law". He states: "People who understand high finance are of two kinds: those who have vast fortunes of their own and those who have nothing at all. To the actual millionnaire a million dollars is something real and comprehensible. To the applied mathematician and the lecturer in economics (assuming both to be practically starving) a million dollars is at least as real as a thousand if they have possessed either sum, but the world is full of people who fall between these two categories, knowing nothing of millions but well accustomed to think in thousands and it is of these that finance committees are mostly comprised. The result is a phenomena that has often been observed but never yet investigated, it might be termed the Law of Triviality. Briefly stated it means the time spent on any item of the agenda will be in inverse proportion to the sum involved (purchasing a $20,000 tractor vs. deciding the station to buy gas for it). Much of our time in the Community Action World is spent dealing with fiscal matters, consisting of the following jargon:

1. Budgets
2. Capital Improvements
3. Millage rate
4. Tax base
5. Revenue Sharing
6. Bond Issues
7. Bids
8. Hearings
9. Applications
10. Proposals
11. Grants
12. Contracts
13. Matching funds of varying degrees
14. Non-Federal Share

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15. Special Conditions
16. Audits

During the ten year history of the Adams-Jefferson Improvement Corporation one of the programs that has made the most far-reaching effects on rural Jefferson County was a Demonstration Manpower Program directed by Dr. Johnny L. Harris, one of the organizers of this conference.

Two major components of the program were a Youth Economic Development Program and a Framer's Co-op. The Youth Economic Development Program had as its major thrust, bringing together to develop, own and operate their own businesses within a corporate structure. It served youth 16 to 26 years of age. They sold stock and set up several food and recreation related businesses, as well as provided services to the community peculiar to the needs of their age group.

Today the Corporation has been dissolved, but the experiences gained by these young people are having positive impacts throughout the community, including one serving on the County Board of Supervisors.

Another component of the program was Economic Development for Low-Income Farmers. Through this program a farmer's Co-op was organized, where they launched a major fund raising project. The second year of this operation they raised approximately 50 tons of cabbage for the market, with confirmed contracts for their produce. As fate would have it as only a farmer can experience, two days before harvest time, the rains started and continued for seven consecutive days. This resulted in a great deal of financial loss due to the heads of cabbage bursting.

If this was not enough to dampen their motivation as participants in a farmers co-op as well as wash them out financially, the same day that it was dry enough to harvest the crops the truckers went on strike and there was no rail service to their Memphis, Birmingham and New Orleans markets.

Consequently, the co-op concept failed. However, the County Agent had been involved with the group from its inception, and discovered that a number of them were interested in supplementing their income on a continuous basis. With the skills they had developed in growing cabbage, he was able to transfer them to growing cucumbers, squash and peppers. He reported to me recently that they grossed nearly one hundred thousand dollars in 1976, and that the potential for establishing a vegetable processing plant in the area was improving each year.

We appreciate having this opportunity to share with you the experiences and activities taking place in the Community Action World, and will close by giving you what some AJIC employees would call Braxton's Law of Management which states: "You may share in being the boss if you are willing to share in paying the cost."

Forecasting Education Needs for Southern Rural Development: State of the Art*

Gerald C. Wheelock

Alabama A & M University

While my intent in this research review is to be unbiased, a second reading has revealed a tone of advocacy. It is only fair to say, in spite of the opinion of our Governor friends in other regions, that from the perspective of the clientel of Southern rural education this presentation may more properly be titled, "We may be in the sun belt, but there is still plenty of shade here in the woods."

I've decided that a tone of advocacy was appropriate. As has been said before, "Needs without advocates will not be considered." Such a tone will hopefully invite dialogue and, perhaps, better research than I have had at my disposal. And no doubt, considering our vantage point, more enlightened research reviews will result.

Nationwide, enrollments in primary and secondary public schools have leveled off and even declined from 46 million in 1971 to less than 45 million now. Thus, if investment in public education through high school is to at least remain constant (in real dollars) it will have to be justified in terms of improved quality or equal opportunity defined in equal expenditures rather than in terms of greater numbers of students. This is in spite of the fact that the relationship between cost and quality in education is exceedingly difficult to document. What is clear, at least to the President's Commission on School Finance, is that parents with the means to do so usually choose schools which cost more to operate than the schools they reject.[1]

Therefore, if the dual objectives of improving quality and providing equal opportunity for all are to be implemented at the same time, the real dollar investment in public education almost certainly will have to increase.

Recommendations to Reduce Inequalities in School Finance

The President's Commission, viewing inequality in school financing as a major impediment to providing equal education opportunity countrywide, makes three major recommendations which, ostensibly, would increase the investment in rural education in the South. Specifically, the commission recommends relief to unequally taxed property owners in the form of increased state level collection of revenues and funding of public schools, second; increased emphasis on early childhood education with more federal aid to include low-income children and, third; that Title I funds now being provided to states and local school systems for the education of children from low-income families be allocated according to the relative concentrations of these children within each school system. Southern rural school districts with typically poorer tax bases and larger concentrations of low income families would presumably benefit from implementation of all three recommendations.[2]

However, I suspect that an analysis of the potential impact of these three recommendations would show that rural Southern schools would gain relatively little.

The most expensive of the three recommendations, state aid, is proposed to cost roughly three times as much in federal incentives as the other two combined. Yet, Southern states and rural districts probably stand to profit the least of any in the U. S. from implementation of the state aid recommendation. First, property taxes which are those to be equalized are not the major source of education revenues in the South. Second, in spite of proportionately larger federal contributions, 15 of the 17 Southern states already collect more of their education revenues at the state level than do the median states, (Kansas, 40.1% and California, 42.4%, 1973-74). Only two Southern states, Missouri and Virginia, exceed the national average (50.1%) in education revenues collected from local levels.[3]

Finally, full state aid at uniformally low levels may be worse for education than less equal local financing. While Commission studies show no relationship between state financing and state regulation of public education, and even a positive correlation (r = .39) between state financing and local innovation, the top ranking state aid state had one of the three lowest innovation scores. This state, North Carolina, was the only Southern state in the sample of 10.[4]

This finding of high state aid and low innovation, treated as a single exception to an otherwise positive relationship by the President's Commission, is suspected to be the rule in the South. For example, in his research perspective on Sociology and Economics of Education in the South, C. Arnold Anderson "...doubts the strong Southern predilection for centralized funding of schools. Given the racial and status tensions about education, centralization may have retarded accommodation to new developments and inhibited would-be-pacesetter communities from moving confidently ahead to new educational programs."[5]

In any event, it seems fair to conclude that state aid is already the predominate source of education funds in Southern states and that state aid has not overridden the negative effects of low expenditures per student upon the levels of innovation. When funds are insufficient to comply with accreditation standards, few resources will be devoted to local desires for change.

Thus only two of the Commission's eleven recommendations, early childhood education and redistribution of Title I funds, stand to directly benefit finance of Southern schools in general and the region's rural schools in particular. However, state aid, the big apply, may placate the non-South and thus pave the way for welfare reform and early childhood education shifts to the rural South.

But, from another perspective, perhaps the South doesn't need much additional help.

With increasing economic growth in the South, we are told state and local tax bases should be increasing. Properly taxed, revenues from these expanding bases should lead to absolute and relative increases in average expenditures per student. Continued out-migration and declining birthrates should enhance the size of the share. At least these have been the assumptions underpinning the projections made for the President's Commission on School Finance.

A Look at Available Projections

In Table 1, we see current expenditures per pupil by region. In 17 Southern states, which schools a third of the nation's students, current expenditures per student were $469, 79 percent of the U.S. average in 1967-68. They were projected to gain $243 in 1967 buying power by 1975. The relative share for the student in the South was projected to increase to 83 percent of the national average. To make up for this relative gain of four percent in the South, the Northeast was projected to slide two percent from 127 percent, the North Central two percent from 100 percent, and the West four percent from 106 percent of the national average.

Table 2 provides a breakdown of the expenditure data by type of school district for the base period 1967-68 and the projections for 1975-76. Here it is seen that non-SMSA districts schooled 15,021,000 children in 1967-68, more than one-third of the nations youth. Of these more than 6.3 million or 42 percent are schooled in the non-SMSA districts of 17 Southern states from Texas to Maryland. Current expenditure per rural Southern public school students were estimated to be $447 in 1967-68, 83 percent of the national non-SMSA average. The projected increase to $668 by 1975-76 amounts to 86 percent of the national non-SMSA forecast.

Projections and Estimates Compared: Enrollment - A Surprise

While these projections are more or less in line with what is thought to have happened and while data are more available now than then, we have not found an update of the analyses and projections in the literature. Therefore, for discussion we have prepared a compilation for comparison with current (1974-75) estimates. To avoid making adjustments for the buying power of the dollar the data is presented in terms of regional proportions of the U.S. totals. In Table 3A is found a comparison of the relative size of the enrollments for the four regions. In 1970 the South still enrolled nearly one-third of the nations public school students while the Northeast enrolled 21.3 percent, the North Central 28 percent, and the West 18.5 percent. The projections to 1975 show the South's proportions declining along with the North Central while the West and Northeast were to have increases slightly.

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Table 1. Current Expenditures by Region and Type of School District Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Primary and Secondary Schools.

	ESTIMATES 1967 - 68			PROJECTIONS 1975 - 76 (1967-68 Dollars)	
Region	Enrollment in Thousands	Expenditures per Pupil	Percentage of National Average	Current Expenditures per Pupil	Percentage of National Average
Northeast	9,405	$755	127%	$1076	125%
Northcentral	12,552	$591	100%	$ 845	98%
South	14,329	$469	79%	$ 712	83%
West	8,164	$629	106%	$ 881	102%
U.S. Average	44,450	$593	100%	$ 860	100%

Froomkin, Joseph; J. R. Endriss, Robert W. Strump. Population, Enrollment and Costs of Public Elementary and Secondary Education for 1975-76 and 1980-81. The President's Commission on School Finance.

Table 2. Current Expenditures Per Pupil Enrolled in Public Primary and Secondary Schools by Region and Type of School District.

Type of School Districts	Regions Northeast	Northcentral	South	West	Total
Central Cities:					
Enrollment in Thousands 1967-68	2,990	3,643	5,101	2,804	14,538
Current Expenditures 1967-68 Estimates	$ 800	$ 62[illegible]	$ 480	$ 663	$ 618
Current Expenditures 1975-76 Projections (1967-68 Dollars)	1,144	$ 900	$ 742	$ 918	$ 898
Other SMSA:					
Enrollment in Thousands 1967-68	4,325	4,465	2,899	3,202	14,891
Current Expenditures 1967-68 Estimates	$ 763	$ 585	$ 496	$ 620	$ 627
Current Expenditures 1975-76 Projections (1967-68 Dollars)	$1,091	$ 845	$ 739	$ 873	$ 906
Non-SMSA:					
Enrollment in Thousands 1967-68	2,090	4,444	6,329	2,158	15,021
Current Expenditures 1967-68 Estimates	$ 674	$ 568	$ 447	$ [illegible]	$ 536
Current Expenditures 1975-76 Projections (1967-68 Dollars)	$ 965	$ 806	$ 668	$ 841	$ 774

Froomkin, Joseph; J. R. Endriss, Robert W. Strump. Population, Enrollment and Costs of Public Elementary and Secondary Education for 1975-76 and 1980-81. The President's Commission on School Finance.

In fact the South's proportion of public school enrollment has increased. Out-migration from many Southern rural areas to Southern cities may have continued, but a net out-migration has become a net in-migration. Private schools have not grown as rapidly as expected and birth rates, perhaps, have not dropped as far. Meanwhile, enrollment rates including kindergartens have climbed. On the other hand, the Northeast's proportion of the nation's enrollment has declined rather than increased. In-migration has slowed, birth rates have dropped to very low levels, enrollment rates have eased off, and private schools have not yielded to rising costs as rapidly as expected.

Projections and Esimtated Compared: Expenditures - A Disappointment

Total enrollment is down from 46 million to 45 million as the baby boom passed. Therefore, the shift in the school budget formula from quantity to quality and equality should have a chance to work. However, inflation has taken its toll and projections of increasing dollars do not necessarily translate into more buying power. In fact HEW projections show public education buying power to be flat up through 1985.[7] This does not rule out regional shifts in buying power, however. If the formula is working, the proportion of the nation's public education expenditures flowing through school systems in the South should be increasing.

Revenues resulting from local growth should be growing faster than in the rest of the nation so that, in spite of an increasing proportion of the nation's enrollment and rapid inflation, public school students in the South should be benefiting from an increasing share of the nation's investment. The projections show that the increase from the lowly base of 79 percent should be an annual increment of 1/2 of 1% of the national average since 1967-68. As we see in Table 3B, the South has experienced a relative increase in current expenditures. But, when enrollment increases are taken into account (Table 4) the increase is only slightly more than one-fourth that projected or about 1/7 of 1% of the national average annually. Meanwhile, the Northeast, which was to have declined, has also increased but, from a much higher 127 percent to 128 percent of its share of per student expenditures during the same time period.

Historically, perhaps this is not unusual. Areas with declining enrollments and out-migration experience increased levels of expenditure per student while those increasing their enrollments experience lags in upward budget adjustments. In this respect, the South has fared as well as could be expected. The test lies ahead as to whether the revenues can be generated in a relatively more rural growth environment than has been the case historically. Industry and growth enterprises are seeking relatively more rural locations partly to avoid the costs of big cities, including taxes. Presuming local tax effort will continue to be important in financing schools, particularly construction, numerous non-SMSA municipalities will have to organize efficient taxing systems in addition to state level mechanisms. The

Table 3A. Public School Enrollment: Actual (1970) and Projected (Series E, 1975 and 1980) Regional Proportions Compared with 1974 Actual Regional Proportions.

Region	Actual[1] 1970	Projections[2] 1975	1980	Actual[3] 1974
Northeast	21.32	21.85	22.16	21.66
Northcentral	27.96	27.48	27.23	27.72
South	32.23	31.74	31.07	32.46
West	18.49	18.92	19.53	18.16

Table 3B. Public School Current Expenditures: Actual (1970) and Projected (Series E, 1975 and 1980) Regional Proportions Compared with 1974 Actual Regional Proportions.

Region	Actual[4] 1967	Projections[4] 1975	1980	Actual[5] 1974
Northeast	26.92	27.39	27.29	27.78
Northcentral	28.14	27.06	26.45	28.13
South	25.48	26.24	26.82	25.96
West	19.46	19.30	19.44	18.13

[1] Froomkin, Joseph, J. R. Endriss, and Robert W. Strump. Population, Enrollment and Costs of PUblic Elementary and Secondary Education for 1975-76 and 1980-81. The President's Commission on School Finance. Section 2, Table 4. 1972.

[2] Ibid., Section 1, Table 9. Projections apply to U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Estimates and Projections, Series E, 1975-1980, Series P-25, No. 448, Table 2, p. 37, adjusted by the relationship between the 1970 Series E and the 1970 advance report of population, PC (V 2).

[3] Computed from Grant, W. Vance and George Lind. Digest of Education Statistics 1975 Edition. National Center for Education Statistics, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 1976, Table 26.

[4] Froomkin, et. al. "Projections..." Section 4, Table 41.

[5] Computed from Grant et. al. "Digest..." Table 70.

Table 4. Ratio of Public School Enrollment Regional Proportions to Current Expenditure Regional Proportions: Actual (1967) and Projected (1975 and 1980) Ratios Compared with 1974 Ratios.[1]

Region	Actual Ratio 1967	Projected Ratio 1975	1980	Actual Ratio 1974	1974 Actual Ratio as a Percent of the 1975 Projected Ratio
Northeast	1.272	1.254	1.232	1.283	102.31%
Northcentral	.997	.985	.971	1.015	103.05%
South	.790	.827	.863	.800	96.74%
West	1.059	1.020	.995	.998	97.84%

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[1] Computed from Table 3.

historical experience of catching up with rapid growth has accrued to SMSAs. Dealing with and providing for a rapidly growing private sector is a new experience for the public sector in the non-SMSA South.

Just a glimpse at the task with regard to public school construction broken down by region and by type of school district is provided in Tables 5, 6, and 7. It is apparent in Table 5 that construction in non-SMSA districts in the South has been considerably delayed. Perhaps the prevailing thought has been that everyone would leave. Because of slightly lower construction costs the task is lightened, but borrowing costs (Table 6) in non-SMSA Southern districts are typically higher than any other type of school district outside of the central cities of the Northeast. Furthermore, Southern districts are more dependent upon local bond issues than are other districts (Table 7).

In light of the massive backlog of construction in the South, and the fact that most of it is dependent upon local taxing powers suggests that my earlier comments on the value of increased state aid may need revision. The President's Commission is not explicit about how construction costs should fit into the picture. It is clear that modernization of many rural schools in the South would place excessive strain on the local tax base. Not only are the tax bases inadequate, but the relatively low productivity levels they represent lead to higher interest rates on their bond issues. More aid for school construction in many rural Southern districts is needed if anything approaching equality is to be achieved.

A Proper Mix of Leadership for Improved Rural Education

As a part of the process of non-SMSA municipalities and their school boards gearing up to the task of financing education and arriving at a just and proper mix of federal, state and local revenues, an intensive community involvement experience will most surely evolve. Our knowledge about the evolution of community involvement in non-SMSA Southern districts is very limited. The integration experience was largely imposed from the outside and it is still being digested. A campaign leading to a successful vote to float a major tax bond issue in an integrated rural Southern school district is still a rare if ever experience. Organization of a rural lobby to promote increased proportions of Title I funding for predominately low-income districts is also non-existent, but it is probably safe to say that none of these things will happen without considerable local community involvement. A quote from the Sixth Annual Report of the President to the Congress on Government Services to Rural America is indicative.

> "The Federal Government will continue in its efforts to improve the quality of life in Rural America through support and encouragement of the development that is so clearly now a part of our rural communities. As in the past, however, it is the local people themselves, through their own initiatives and energies, who must determine the manner in which their communities will grow and change, Government must not intrude on this basic American right."[8]

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED AND PROJECTED FIVE YEAR PLANT REPLACEMENT RATES BY TYPE OF DISTRICT WITHIN REGION

(PER CENT OF CAPACITY)

	ELEMENTARY		SECONDARY	
REGION	1967-70	1971-80	1967-70	1971-80
Northeast				
Central Cities	6.6	15.5	10.8	17.1
Other SMSA	15.3	12.5	23.1	15.0
Non-SMSA	21.3	12.5	19.8	15.0
North Central				
Central Cities	8.3	14.6	16.4	15.0
Other SMSA	13.9	12.5	22.0	15.0
Non-SMSA	15.7	12.5	23.5	15.0
South				
Central Cities	10.5	18.7	13.0	16.0
Other SMSA	19.1	12.5	25.9	15.0
Non-SMSA	10.9	13.3	-	22.5
West				
Central Cities	-	18.7	18.3	15.0
Other SMSA	15.6	12.5	-	22.5
Non-SMSA	14.5	12.5	22.3	15.0

SOURCE: 1967-70 Figures derived from School Management Magazine data file as tabulated in Joseph Froomkin, Et. Al., A Report to the President's Commission on School Finance: Population, Enrollment, and Costs of Public Elementary and Secondary Education 1975-76 and 1980-81. 1971

TABLE 6

AVERAGE INTEREST RATES, LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL BOND ISSUES, BY REGION AND TYPE OF DISTRICT

REGION	INTEREST RATE (PER CENT)
Northeast	
Central Cities	6.88
Other SMSA	5.95
Non-SMSA	5.54
North Central	
Central Cities	5.84
Other SMSA	5.87
Non-SMSA	5.63
South	
Central Cities	5.52
Other SMSA	5.67
Non-SMSA	6.04
West	
Central Cities	5.31
Other SMSA	5.49
Non-SMSA	5.67

Computed from a sampling of school bond issues, July 1969 - May 1971, compiled by the American Bankers' Association for the U. S. Office of Education. Regional averages are weighed using construction outlays from School Management magazine data file. Joseph Froomkin, et. al., Projections...loc. cit.

TABLE 7

SHARE OF NEW PUBLIC SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION FINANCED BY LOCAL BOND ISSUES, BY REGION

(IN MILLIONS OF CURRENT DOLLARS AND PER CENT)

	CONSTRUCTION 1967 to 1970	PER CENT FINANCED by bond issues
Northeast	4,325	78.4
North Central	4.207	84.3
South	2.784	94.9
West	2,270	77.5
TOTAL U. S.	13,586	83.5

SOURCE: Bonds issued: Compiled from U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, Bond Sales for Public School Purposes, 1966-67 through 1969-70, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., various years. Construction: Adapted from School Management Magazine data file. Joseph Froomkin, et. al., Projections...loc. cit.

The potential of rural communities in the South to contribute to development of public education so that it can better serve their communities is surely greater than has been realized to date. Other states with little more average wealth, such as the Dakotas, have developed schools which served their local community by preparing their youth to compete relatively successfully for jobs in out of state cities. While their job has been bigger, Southern rural schools have not been as successful. The inequalities in wealth and the resulting low priority given to education for the poorer masses may be the basic underlying cause of poorer schools in Southern states compared with the Dakotas. To overcome the inequality problem at the local level, considerable federal, state, and university leadership will most surely be needed and probably welcomed by local leadership.

The benign neglect of these inequities is no more apparent than when one conducts a data search to compare the financial status of rural Southern school districts with other regions. The most recent projections to be found, those utilized by studies from the President's Commission on School Finance, are based on 1967-68 data. The Bureau of the Census has more recent data from the Census of Governments, but analysis of this data has not found its way into the literature. Likewise, the National Center for Education Statistics publishes a series of annual documents, "Digest of Education Statistics", "Projections of Education Statistics", and "The Condition of Education", all of which provide extensive information for education planners, but none of which provide information on inequities between types of school districts. Similarly, at state levels, Annual Reports of State Departments of Education include massive amounts of data but they clearly are not designed to highlight inequalities among school districts. As a starting point toward providing the necessary minimum amount of Federal and state leadership, current annual data designed to monitor inequities between regions and types of school districts should be made public. The least we should be able to expect of national and state leadership is a well publicized, continuous, up-to-date status report on the equality of rural Southern public education within each state and relative to the rest of the nation. Similarly, given this data base, regional projections should be updated regularly. Local communities, state departments of education, and collaborating universities should always be aware of the equality as well as the quality score.

University Research as a Leadership Component in Rural Public Education

One ENPRD project has been to search the Dissertation Abstracts International files for evidence of interest in rural education needs projections by doctoral candidates throughout the region. A perusal of the DATRIX II high frequency word list found in the DAI files reveals that 22,506 dissertations including the words "school" or "schools" in their titles have been written. Also, 3,803 titles include "educational", 11,861 include "education", and 1,865 contain "vocational" as a part of their title.

Table 8. Scalogram of Dissertation Abstract DATRIX II Search by State Name and Two Additional Sets of Descriptors: (1) School(s) and (2) Selected Analytic Terms

State	EdVo[1]	ReCo[2]	As[3]	DeInIm[4]	Pr[3]	Scale Score	Number of Dissertations[5]
	Selected Analytic Terms						
Texas	1	1	1	1	0	4	48
Alabama	1	1	1	1	0	4	22
North Carolina	1	1	1	1	0	4	22
Tennessee	1	1	1	1	0	4	19
Mississippi	1	1	1	1	0	4	17
Missouri	1	1	1	0	0	3	44
Maryland	1	1	1	0	0	3	22
Florida	1	1	1	0	0	3	21
Kentucky	1	1	1	0	0	3	19
Arkansas	1	1	1	0	0	3	18
Georgia	1	1	1	0	0	3	14
Oklahoma	1	1	0	0	0	2	14
Louisiana	1	1	0	0	0	2	13
Virginia	1	1	0	0	0	2	12
Delaware	1	0	0	0	0	1	6
South Carolina	1	0	0	0	0	1	4
West Virginia	1	0	0	0	0	1	4
Dissertations	96	141	35	41	6		319

Code:

Re = relate, related, relating, relation, relates
Ed = educational
Vo = vocational
As = associate, associates, associating, associated, association
Co = compare, compares, compared, comparing comparison
In = influence, influences, influenced, influencing
Im = impact, impacting, impacts, impacted
De = determine, determined, determines, determination, determining
Pr = predict, predicts, predicting, predicted, prediction, predictable, projection, delphi, forecast

[1] 1 = one or more dissertation titles containing "educational or vocational" plus school(s) and state name in title
0 = no such dissertation

[2] 1 = four or more dissertations with indicated analytic terms
0 = three or fewer dissertations

[3] 1 = two or more dissertations with indicated analytic terms
0 = none or one dissertation

[4] 1 = three or more dissertations with indicated analytic terms
0 = two or fewer dissertations

[5] DATRIX II Search complete from 1965 to 1975.

Table 9. Solicitation of Community Involvement in Public Education Needs Projection: A Regional Comparison of Doctoral Dissertation Titles and Abstracts 1965-1975.

Region Years	Needs Projection Methodology							
	Delphi (Panels)				Conventional (Cross Sectional)			
	Educators Only		Educators and Lay Leaders		Educators Only		Educators and Lay Leaders	
Southern States	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1973-75	5	83	1	17	2	67	1	33
1969-72	0	-	0	-	2	50	2	50
1965-68	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
1965-75 Total	5	83	1	17	4	57	3	43
Non-South States								
1973-75	4	33	8	67	10	63	6	37
1969-72	3	75	1	25	3	75	1	25
1965-68	0	-	0	-	3	60	2	40
1965-75 Total	7	44	9	56	16	64	9	36

The ENPRD project has attempted to exploit this massive file to determine the extent and range of dissertation research in the area of needs projection. An initial DATRIX II search of titles in the DAI file used logical word roots such as education, schools, and vocation in combination with descriptors like Delphi, projection, forecast, need, objective, and predict. This search resulted in only 124 references dating back to 1920. Only 25 of these dissertations were produced in universities of 17 Southern states. Some 30 titles include the word Delphi. A manual search verified our finding that dissertation-level education needs projection research is scarce.

The next DATRIX II search strategy was designed to couch this finding in the context of a logical progression from "description" research, to "comparative" research, and finally to prediction, projection, or forecasting. Given the state of the art and the lack of theory to guide forecasting methodologies it is logical to expect that most titles would fall in the former categories and fewer in the latter. This search was designed so that we were able to enumerate for 17 Southern states dissertation titles which contain (1) a state name, (2) the word "school(s)", and (3) selected terms which suggest the analytic nature of the research design employed. Using these descriptors, 319 titles, purged of those referring to school(s) in universities, e.g. law school, were retrieved. As may be seen in the scalogram presented in Table 8, all states have produced a thesis containing in its title the words "school(s)" in combination with "educational" or "vocational", but none of the selected analytic descriptors. While some may contain analytic descriptors not included in the search, it has been assumed that these titles are descriptive studies.

Of the 319 titles, 141 contained analytic terms with "compar" or "relat" as word roots, but only 14 of the 17 states produced at least four such titles. A similar analytic root, "associat", which like "compar" and "relat" implies a "comparative" type study, was contained in two or more titles in 11 states. Finally, the fourth and fifth scale items contain analytic descriptors which imply an underlying causal model. Only five states produced three or more dissertations containing "determin", "influenc", or "impact", while no single state produced two or more theses with the root "predict", "project", or "forecast".

The cumulative pattern is instructive. States in which causal analysis is beginning are also the ones in which considerable descriptive and comparative homework has preceded. However, no "critical mass" of two or more doctoral dissertations which "predict", "project", or "forecast" by "Delphi" or other "need" assessment methodology while specifying one or more 17 Southern states, has been produced to date.

To be sure, there is evidence of ongoing work on forecasting methodologies in the region. Only three of some ten types of forecasting - extrapolative, intuitive, and survey - as identified by Daniel P. Harrison, are apparently utilized to a significant degree in education needs projection.[8] In the extrapolation category, dissertations at Florida state indicate work on methods tying education projections to manpower needs.[9] Only one dissertation attempts to project school quality.[10] No more than three dissertations produced in the region are readily identified as having explored survey techniques to do "occupational and status projections" of Southern youth.[11] If plans and programs to link Southern youth more directly to Southern occupational opportunities are to bear fruit and dependence on in-migration of skills is to be reduced, more extrapolative forecasting needs to be closely linked to planning the regions vocational and educational programs.

In the rhelm of intuitive forecasting, the most popular approach among educators, work on Delphi methodology is likely to make a contribution toward more successful community involvement in the education needs assessment process. However, dissertation research, because of its potential for innovation, needs to be striking out more boldly in providing examples of applying the Delphi technique to mixed community/educator panels. The technique, because it takes into account and explicitly provides for feedback and reevaluation on the part of need assessment participants, has considerable potential for facilitating dialogue and consensus formation.

A time-series analysis of dissertation abstracts identified in the above described search shows utilization of the Delphi technique to be very recent in doctorate degree granting institutions in the region. Six have been produced, all since 1973.[12] Only one of these explored methodological problems involved in utilizing mixed panels as opposed to educator only panels. Outside the region, response to the community involvement movement was more apparent. Of 16 produced, all since 1969, 9 involved mixed panels. Since 1973, 8 of 12 such identified dissertations outside the region have utilized mixed panels. Traditional methodologies involving one-shot surveys of opinion were more frequently applied to educators only, both inside and outside the South.

The pattern in the South of using Delphi with educators only may reverse inself during the next four years as it did in the non-South during this period. On the other hand the methodological difficulty in dealing with mixed panels with widely varying perspectives may be greater in the South than elsewhere. As noted by Harrison,[13] difficulties in identifying and selecting a balanced panel of experts from different background is problematic. Furthermore, could one expect authoritative convergence from divergent areas of expertise? Additionally, there is the question of whether the technique tends to force conformity. Indeed such a latent "gentle persuation" characteristic may underlie the choice of the technique in some instances. In any event use of the technique provides at least one mode for citizen participation in education decision making.

We have another session tomorrow, Session 16, "Rural Education Needs Projections Through Citizens Participation", which is organized to provide us some insight into the perspectives of national, state, and local community inquiry into this question.

In sum, the evidence reported here suggests that relatively little is documented on adapting community change models and education needs projection and planning techniques which endeavor to involve the rural Southern community at both state and local levels. Available projections are not up-to-date and are perhaps misleading at local levels; local leadership, when brave enough to raise its head, is left dangling with few technical services to link the local community to state departments, university expertise or federal government programs. Hopefully, the above discussion highlights the increasing importance to the region of more collaboration among university researchers, the federal government, state departments of education, and the people of rural school districts in planning and mobilizing for the improvement of public education in rural areas.

Footnotes

[1] Neil McElroy, Chairman. 1972. Final Report of the President's Commission on School Finance: Schools, People and Money - The Need for Educational Reform. p. x.

[2] Ibid., p. 147.

[3] W. Vance Grant and George Lind. Digest of Education Statistics: 1975 Edition. National Center for Education Statistics. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1976.

[4] Betsy Levin, Thomas Muller, William J. Sconlon, and Michael A. Cohen. Public School Finance: Present Disparities and Fiscal Alternatives. A Report prepared for the President's Commission on School Finance by the Urban Institute, Washington, D. C., 1972, Volume I, p. 248.

[5] C. Arnold Anderson. Southern Education: A new research frontier. Edgar T. Thompson, Editor. Perspective on the South: Agenda for Research. Duke University Press Durham, N. C. 1967. p. 187.

[6] Kenneth A. Simon and Martin M. Frankel. 1976. Projections of Education Statistics to 1984-85. National Center for Education Statistics. U. S. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C. Table 37, p. 89.

[7] U.S.D.A. Rural Development Sixth Annual Report of the President to the Congress on Government Services to Rural America. Rural Development Service, U. S. D. A. Washington, D. C. 20250. 1976. p. 24.

[8] Daniel P. Harrison. 1976. Social Forecasting Methodology: Suggestions for Research, Number 7 in Social Science Frontiers. Russel Sage Foundation. New York. 1976.

In sum, the potential for University sponsored research, such as dissertations, to pave the way for more fruitful community involvement in Southern rural education appears to be considerable.

The Federal Leadership Component in Rural Public Education

Aside from Dissertation Abstracts, the single largest indexing of education literature is, of course, the Education Resource Information Center (ERIC) and, specifically, for the purpose of the ENPRD project, the clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools (CRESS) at New Mexico State University. A search of the ERIC-CRESS files plus clearinghouses for Administration, Career and Vocational Education provided another strong indication that very little has been documented on rural-community involvement in education planning in the South. Work, however, has been done directly or sponsored by ERIC-CRESS in the form of synthesis of a range of recommendations and rationals found in the literature. Principally, these are recommendations which if implemented at federal, state and local levels would provide for a broad based improvement in rural schools throughout the region rather than just the occasional token appearance of a demonstration rural school blessed with exceptional leadership and foundation or government funding.

Moe and Tamblyn[14] emphasize the importance of the Federal Government taking more responsibility for leadership in articulating a national policy for rural education. Quoting a USOE Task Force Report on Education, they stress the recommendation to establish a rural unit in the U. S. Office of Education and to induce the several states to establish Offices of Rural Education within their Departments of Education. Coordination of the education planning activities of this type of structure with the rural development efforts of the states, their planning and development districts, and with activities under the Rural Development Act of 1972 would provide a unified format through which communities could begin to articulate toward their common education goals. When no such structure exists, rural communities cannot be expected to contribute up to their potential in any national or state level effort to reduce inequities among rural districts or between regions or types of districts. If this is understood at federal levels, and there is a genuine concern about inequalities among our nations schools, some action would surely be forthcoming. In 1976, however, Everett D. Edington in his synthesis of literature on strengthening the rural school reports that "there has been no indication that the report of the Task Force has ever been read, much less acted upon."[15]

The question then must be, "who is interested enough in the plight of rural education to give it priority, and to provide resources to organize a lobby for development of a rural education infrastructure which would provide rural communities linkage to state and national programs designed to facilitate equal education opportunity for all?"

[9] Anan Srisopa. 1971. Methodology for Forecasting Manpower Requirements as a Basis for Long Range Education Planning. (Ph.D. Florida State University); and

George Thomas Wajdowicz. 1973. Multi-procedural Examination of Public School Enrollment Projection Techniques. (Ph.D. Florida State University).

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THE MINORITY PEOPLES COUNCIL ON THE TENNESSEE-TOMBIGBEE WATERWAY: A CITIZEN'S RESPONSE TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

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The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway is the largest public works project now under construction in the United States. The federal and state governments are spending $1.6 billion, between 1970 and 1985, to construct the Waterway. The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway (TTW) is a 253 mile ice-free inland barge canal connecting the Port of Mobile with the coal-fields of Appalachia and the grain fields of mid-America. Once completed in the 1980's, the Waterway will stimulate increased industrial, agricultural and recreational growth in southwest Alabama and northeast Mississippi, which heretofore have been economically depressed areas.

Over $300 million dollars in contracts have already been let along the entire distance of the Waterway. One thousand (1,000) construction workers are presently involved in the work, with the number projected to increase to as many as four thousand (4,000) at the peak of construction. Four of the ten locks and three of the five dams planned are already under construction. Development of the project is supervised by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, but control will eventually be vested in the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Development Authority (TTWDA), a five state compact whose directors are appointed by the governors of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Kentucky and Tennessee.

For the past five years, I have lived and worked in Sumter and Greene Counties, Alabama, on the banks of the Tennessee-Tombigbee River close to the first TTW Lock and Dam site at Gainesville, Alabama. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the organization I work with, established its Rural Training, Research, and Demonstration Farming Center in 1970 on 1,325 acres in close proximity to the Tombigbee River.

In the early 1970's as part of our concern for rural development, a group of us in the Federation began studying the implications of the

Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway to indigenous people in the impact area. We discovered some facts and trends which formed the basis and premises of our efforts to organize local, poor and Black people to work toward receiving a fair and proportionate share of all benefits of this massive, infrastructural development. Some of these trends were:

1. Our study of U. S. Census and other demographic data showed that approximately sixty percent (60%) of the population in the sixteen (16) county immediate impact area (counties directly touching the Waterway) were low-income, (incomes at or below 125% of poverty standards) and forty percent (40%) were Black people. Of the Black people in the impact area, seventy-five percent (75%) were low-income by census definitions. (Note 1) These percentage figures of the poor and Black composition of the TTW impact area population remain relatively constant as the impact area is expanded to include the 165 counties in the "tributary impact area of the TTW" recognized by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers as the primary impact area of the Waterway in southeast Alabama, northwest Mississippi, east Tennessee and western Kentucky.

2. A recent study supported by the Appalachian Regional Commission shows that in the period 1950 - 1973, over half a million persons (two-thirds Black people) migrated out of the 165 county primary impact area (Note 2) because insufficient employment opportunities were available. The same study projects, due to increasing industrial and manufacturing development in the southeast, that in the coming period for the years 1973 - 2000, employment in the TTW impact area will increase by over one million jobs (Note 3) and population by nearly two million (Note 4), this is in the absence of the impact of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.

   When the TTW Project is included in the projections, an additional 126,200 jobs will be created between 1973 - 2000. Of these 29,000 will be added during the construction phase to 1985 and, an additional 97,200 in the ensuing development period (Note 5). This is a 15% increase in employment growth above projected "normal" growth trends for the area. The population of the area is expected to grow by a quarter of a million as a direct result of the Waterway (Note 6).

   Our concern in reviewing these population and employment trends was to question what impact would the Waterway have on the indigenous rural, poor and Black population of the impact area. Would these persons receive the benefits of the Waterway, or will we continue to be encouraged to migrate away from the area, while other more highly educated and trained persons from other parts of the nation are imported into the area?

   These concerns are also important when we consider that a major rational offered by the Corps of Engineers for funding the TTW are its "redevelopment benefits" in helping to reduce unemployment and poverty in the areas traversed by the Waterway. Will these redevelopment benefits go to indigenous residents of the area in need of them or will we be passed over once again in the name of efficiency and progress...

3. Our concern with these questions was intensified when we studied recent patterns of economic and employment growth in the southeastern states. A study of economic growth by the University of Alabama, illustrates a disturbing trend that has occurred across the South: "Almost half of the Alabama's manufacturing growth between 1969 and 1972 has taken place in rural white counties with less than 30% Black population. Of the State's 3,345 new manufacturing plants expansions, 1,524 have been located in the predominantly rural white counties. These facilities created 84,000 of 176,000 new manufacturing jobs in the State and gave the rural-white counties a significantly stronger economic base. While in the rural-Black counties, those having a majority Black population, the small gains in manufacturing employment were not even large enough to offset the decline in agricultural employment, much less to sustain the job needs of new entrants into the labor force. This pattern of industrial development favoring the rural counties with low Black population repeats itself across the south." (Note 7)

In a recent pamphlet issued by the environmentalist groups opposing the Waterway, they make the telling point that, "If waterways are effective in inducing economic growth, why is Greene County Alabama, which has the channelized Black Warrior River on its western boundary and the Tombigbee River on its eastern boundary, still the fifth poorest county in America..." (Note 8) What is not stated is that Greene County has a majority Black population and since 1969 has had Black control of county government. Thus the racist patterns inherent in economic development decisions in the accelerating industrialization of the southeast are important factors in assessing the potential benefits of the TTW to indigenous poor and Black people in the impact area.

4. Another disturbing trend is that there is a pre-occupation with the physical planning and development of the Waterway, i.e., construction contracts, port development, sewage disposal systems, etc., without a concomitant concern or commitment to the human resource planning and development needed to insure the full involvement of local people in the Waterway impact area. Despite a decade of lead-time, there do not seem to be many efforts to insure that vocational education, higher education, health facilities, housing and other human resource planning takes into account the growth to be induced by the Waterway.

Many of the planning and development boards - e.g., Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Development Authority, Tombigbee River Valley Water Management District, Port of Mobile Commission, with jurisdiction for the Waterway do not have any Black participation or involvement, thus the viewpoint of those concerned with human resource planning, training and development is not heard in the official planning and policy councils.

5. When we at the Federation looked into the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, we realized it is only one of many major infrastructural projects developing in the rural South which will lead to further industrialization and hasten the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society from many indigenous people. Among similar projects are: the

Savannah River Project on South Carolina/Georgia border; the Red River Project on the Louisiana/Arkansas border, nuclear power generating plants, highway projects and others. We also realized any experience we gained in dealing with the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project could be studied and replicated by groups in other areas.

From our experience, in the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the civil rights movement, we felt it was important to form a constituency based organization of people indigenous to the Waterway area, to raise important questions about the implications of the TTW. We needed a large strong membership organization capable of exerting political pressure; lobbying locally, regionally and nationally; demonstrating in the streets if necessary; and that was also backed up with sophisticated research, legal and technical assistance capabilities. We felt the organization should be able to both influence public policies and to create "alternative models", where this was necessary to illustrate sound policy and programmatic alternatives. We also knew the organization would require a comprehensive program because the Waterway itself was a complex and comprehensive undertaking - so similarly the community response would need to be comprehensive in scope and farsighted in perspective.

In January 1974, the Federation and its state associations in Alabama and Mississippi convened the "First Peoples Conference on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway." An outgrowth of this conference was the establishment of the Minority Peoples Council on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway (MPC). The MPC is a coalition of people, organizations, elected officials and others organized to insure that Black and poor people are fully involved and receive a fair share of all benefits of the Waterway during construction and in the subsequent development phase. The Minority Peoples Council has established objectives in ten areas of interest to people in the impact area, i.e., fair employment, economic development, participation on decision making boards, land ownership, involvement of educational institutions, housing, health care, research, legal challenges and community education.

Membership in the MPC costs $2.00 per year to cover the cost of newsletter mailings and other services. Members join local county chapters. Each chapter is entitled to two representatives for the first fifty members and one additional representative for each additional fifty members to the central Minority Peoples Council governing body which meets monthly in the Waterway area. During 1976, over 1,500 paid memberships were recorded and the newsletter was sent to over 2,500 people. From this group, the officers and executive board is chosen. At large members of the Council, who are generally persons residing outside the impact area with a concern for the TTW, are nominated by the executive board and approved by the membership at annual conference. The local county chapter meets regularly and works out local problems as well as furthering the overall region-wide goals and program of the MPC. We have attempted to maintain a fluid broad based coalition of people in the Waterway area to further the goals of the Minority Peoples Council.

In terms of citizens involvement in educational issues relative to the TTW, our efforts have been concentrated on: securing an affirmative action to insure employment of minorities in construction of the Waterway, training programs to prepare minorities for employment opportunities, community education efforts to inform people of the impact of the Waterway, involvement of educational institutions in the impact area, and preliminary studies of the relevance and compatability of available vocational education programs to the employment opportunities to be created by the TTW.

In 1974, the MPC formed a coalition with the construction craft unions involved in building the Waterway (National Joint Heavy and Highway Construction Committee, including operating engineers, carpenters, laborers, cement finishers and teamsters), the National Rural Center, the Recruitment and Training Program (RTP, a DOL sponsored program to recruit and place minority workers in the construction industry) and others. This group formulated an "areawide affirmative action plan" calling for 40% minority employment in all crafts on all projects in construction of the Waterway. This plan was to form the basis for an orderly training process to prepare and employ thousands of indigenous people on the TTW. While the unions and the community, as represented by the MPC, were willing to enter this agreement on a voluntary basis, the contractors and the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers opposed the agreement and refused to cooperate.

This led to months of lobbying, letterwriting and a threat of litigation, then after three years of struggle to get an equitable affirmative action plan for the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway's construction, in 1976, we won a partial victory. On August 12, 1976, the Office of Federal Contracts Compliance imposed "special bid conditions" on all future contracts on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway. These conditions apply on an "areawide basis" to thirty Alabama and Mississippi counties in the impact area. The percentage goal of minority hiring increases in stages from 19% in 1976 to 30% in 1980. Adjustments can be made periodically to change the goals as the availability of minority male and female construction workers in the area increases. The counties included are: in Alabama - Choctaw, Sumter, Greene, Hale, Perry, Marengo, Tuscaloosa, Pickens, Lamar, Fayette, Marion, Franklin and Colbert; in Mississippi - Lauderdale, Kemper, Winston, Noxubee, Oktibbeha, Lowndes, Clay, Chickasaw, Monroe, Itawamba, Lee, Pontotoc, Union, Prentiss, Tisnomingo, Alcorn and Tippah.

While this plan does not reach our objective of insuring 40% minority involvement in the TTW, it is a beginning point that indicates the effectiveness of the Minority Peoples Council in placing pressure on the government to achieve fair employment standards for this major project. The "areawide" scope of the plan enhances its effectiveness in reaching people throughout the impact area. The OFCC regulations under which the special bid conditions were established, apply to all Federal construction projects in non-SMSA areas, i.e., rural areas, which means that our efforts to develop an equitable hiring plan for the TTW Project will also benefit rural groups around the nation confronted with similar problems.

Most of these trainees were placed in construction jobs in the TTW area. The MPC also took a position in support of high pre-determined wage rates for construction work on the TTW, when local Mississippi officials attempted to secure lower rates than paid for the same work in Alabama. We felt that we should fight for decent wages so that when we finally were successful in placing minority workers, they would benefit financially from these positions.

We are also contacting the major new employers, e.g., Weyerheauser Corporation, Consoldidated Coal, Parsons and Whittemore, Alabama Electric Cooperatives, Mississippi Chemical Company, and others who are coming into the area to locate on or near the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway and its tributary river systems, concerning their equal opportunity and training policies. We are encouraging them and existing industries to develop programs that will fully involve and train indigenous low-income people. One of our programmatic goals for 1977 is the establishment of an advisory committee to MPC of industry representatives to assist us with training program development, minority business enterprise and other areas.

In addition to these major steps, the MPC has been engaged in a variety of other activities related to citizens involvement in educational issues relative to the TTW. These activities include:

* A preliminary study of the offerings and enrollments at vocational schools and technical colleges in the TTW impact area which shows little compatability with the coming needs for industrial skills; very few of the programs train - millwrights, industrial mechanics and electricians, pipe fitters, tool and die makers, machine shop workers, agribusiness managers, etc. All of which will be in demand by Waterway related industries.

* MPC representatives are actively participating in state meetings relative to the five year vocational education plans, required under the new Vocational Education Act Amendment of 1976, to insure that plans relevant to the involvement of indigenous people in the TTW are formulated.

* MPC is planning a conference in mid-spring in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to acquaint community leaders with the provisions for citizens participation in the Vocational Education Act of 1976.

* MPC is contacting CETA agencies and programs in the affected states, to encourage them to develop compatible programs with the construction and development of TTW.

* The MPC Legal Committee plans to intervene in law suits filed by the environmentalists opposed to the Waterway, to assert and protect the interests of minority and poor people in the TTW area.

* As a longer range prescription the MPC is proposing legislation to Congress to create the "TTW Minority Oversight and Resource Center" funded by an annual appropriation equal to three percent (3%) of the allocations for

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construction of the Waterway. Our proposal is based on the precedent of a similar provision in the Railroad Revitalization and Reorganization Act of 1975. The center would be able to monitor and actively promote minority involvement in all aspects of the Waterway development.

In an ideal sense, if the Tombigbee Waterway is to realize its potential and promises to low-income and minority indigenous people, there are several steps that must be taken now, while there is still time. There must be immediate priority given to human resource development planning, training and programming on an equal footing with the physical planning for TTW.

This human resource concern would be manifest in:

a. establishment and funding of the "TTW Minority Oversight and Resource Center" to vigorously pursue and advocate a program for full involvement of indigenous poor and minority people in the project;

b. that the "TTW Oversight and Resource Center" together with government, universities, the Employment Service, CETA and other concerned agencies, develop a "skills and training inventory" of all persons living in the TTW area interested in sharing in the opportunities to be created. This data bank can then be used in matching persons to training and employment opportunities;

c. insure that all vocational education plans are evaluated and made relevant and compatible with the TTW development; and develop new programs as needed to train and prepare local people for employment in the TTW impact area;

d. assist minority economic and enterprise development programs to assure minority people and community groups with land, ideas and other resources, have an opportunity to capitalize on the TTW's natural resource development of the area.

For more information on our activities, you may write to:

Minority Peoples Council on
The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway
Post Office Box 5
Gainesville, Alabama 35464
Phone: 205/652-9676

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SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SIGNIFICANT OTHERS AS FACTORS OF CAREER CHOICE[1]

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[1] Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists, Atlanta, February, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

This report is based on the results of a study of career orientation of college students majoring in agriculture and home economics in South Carolina. The study was conducted jointly by the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology of Clemson University, the School of Home Economics of South Carolina State College and the School of Home Economics of Winthrop College.

The major purpose of this research was to analyze social origins as a factor of career choice for female college students majoring in home economics. More specifically, the objectives were to (1) determine the effects of the residence factor on career aspirations, and (2) determine the most influential people and/or factors related to career choice.

Related Current Research

Information pertaining to dynamics of vocational choice by young people in South Carolina has been gathered and analyzed through regional research projects since 1966 by the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology at Clemson University. Research for this study has been a part of regional research project SC00167 concerned with career orientations of college students majoring in agricultural and home economics curricula in South Carolina (1976).

Changes have emerged among youth with respect to their social values, residential preferences, life styles, family orientations, and work objectives (Yankelovich, 1974). A contributing factor to this change is that the population has been growing faster in nonmetropolitan counties since 1970 than in metropolitan ones, indicating a reversal in the rural-to-town migration trend (Beale, 1975). Increases in enrollment are being experienced in most colleges of agriculture and schools of home economics since the reversal migration trend. This study contributes to research needed to better understand backgrounds of female college students and their orientations toward careers in home economics and related fields.

METHODOLOGY

Instrumentation

A 42 item multifactor questionnaire on career orientation of senior college students majoring in agriculture and home economics in South Carolina was developed from a previous study of freshman students (Fall, 1975). Items were designed to collect data on social origins, high school experience, college experience, life goals, and attitudes toward career choice.

Data Source

Data were obtained by group interviews of all senior students in home economics curricula at South Carolina State College and Winthrop College in the spring of 1976. Standardized procedures for administration of the questionnaire were used. Seniors attending school on the day of the interviews were included in the sample. Response to the questionnaire was on a voluntary basis. This procedure yielded 171 questionnaires.

Analysis of Data

Data analysis was processed at one location. The sample was subdivided by residence factor and major area. Assessments of differences and relationships were made for type of residence and major area for variables of parents education, life goals and attitudes toward career choice. The Chi-square test was used to measure the differences between the residence major groupings (Siegel, 1956, 196-202). The .01 level or one percent probability was the criterion used to determine statistical significance of the observed relationships.

RESULTS

Effect of Residence Factor on Career Aspirations

No statistically significant difference was found between place of residence and career aspirations. For the total sample, 43% expected to have a teaching job most of their lives while 9% of the total expected to be a housewife or homemaker for most of their lives. Where one lived most of life was not a differentiating factor and there was no difference in the percentages of respondents from farms or large cities in their expectations to be housewives or homemakers most of their lives.

As indicated in Table 1, 77% of the respondents indicated average level of prestige for career choice. Of the respondents selecting high prestige for career choice 62% were from a large or small city. Respondents indicating high prestige for career choice represent 22% of the total sample. Only one person felt that his career choice had low prestige while 11, or only 6% of the total rated their career choice as having low money making potential. Medium money making potential for career choice was cited by 66% of the respondents as compared to 27% of the respondents who indicated high money making potential for career choice.

Table 1

Residence Factor on Career Aspirations/Attitudes

			Percentages		
Career Aspirations/ Attitudes	Chi-Square	d.f.	High	Average	Low
Prestige of Career	10.80	15	22	77	1
Money Making Potential	13.60	15	27	66	6

Chi-square significance at the .01 level: 10 d.f., 23.21; 15 d.f., 30.58; 20 d.f., 37.57

Table 2

Rated Importance of Career Aspirations/Attitudes

Aspirations/ Attitudes	Chi-Square	d.f.	Percentages: Very Important	Important	Not very Important	Not-at-all Important
Lots of Free Time	9.69	15	4	51	44	1
Education	11.44	15	42	53	4	1
Money	21.06	20	20	49	25	6
Job Wanted	4.32	10	66	33	-	1
Place to Live	13.44	15	37	51	11	1
House, Car, Etc.	14.16	15	17	58	25	-
Marriage	16.22	15	51	33	11	5

Chi-square significance at .01 level: 10 d.f., 23.21
15 d.f., 30.58
20 d.f., 37.57

"Having lots of free time", as indicated in Table 2, was rated as being important by 51% of the seniors and as not being important by 44% of the group. "Getting as much education as I want" was rated important (53%) or very important (42%) by 95% of the respondents, regardless of the area of residence.

"Earning as much money as I can" was rated important by 49% of respondents while 20% of the group considered it very important to "earn as much money as I can." Twenty-five percent indicated that it was not very important to "earn as much money as I can" while 6% rated earning as much money as possible as not at all important.

When asked to rate the importance of "getting the job I want," 66% of the respondents indicated that it was very important and 33% rated it important. Therefore, 99% of the respondents, regardless of place of residence, indicated it important or very important to get the job wanted. Less than one percent, one person, indicated that it was not at all important to get the job wanted. "Living in the kind of place I like most" was rated important by 51% of the group and as very important by 37% of the respondents. Eleven percent of the group rated the factor of future residence as not very important. Having items such as a house, car, furniture, etc. was rated important by 58% or over half of the total sample; not very important by 25%; and very important by 17% of the respondents. Marriage was rated as important or very important by 84% of the respondents with 51% indicating marriage to be very important. Sixteen percent rated marriage as not very important (11%) or not at all important (5%).

Most Influential People and/or Factors Related to Career Choice

Statistically significant differences were noted for influences on choice of major as Table 3 indicates. Statistically significant people and/or factors which did not influence senior female college students to choose a major in home economics were the vocational agriculture teacher, the home economics teacher and demand for minorities in this field. Other factors included in this precoded item on influential people and/or factors on choice of major were (1) parents, (2) friends, (3) high school counselor, (4) job opportunities in this field, (5) personal interest in field, (6) by chance, (7) college professor, and (8) courses in college.

Further analysis of data on influences on choice of college major found 71% of the respondents indicating that their parents were some (35%) to very influential (36%) on choice of major. Friends were considered as being some (33%) to very influential (16%) on choice of college major by a total of 49% of the respondents. Only 16% of the respondents stated that the high school counselor was some (9%) to very influential (7%) on choice of major. Three percent of the seniors indicated that the vocational agriculture teacher was some to very influential in their decision to choose home economics as a major. The home economics teacher was indicated as a major influence on choice of major by 50% of the respondents. Further analysis indicated that 75% of the home economics education majors rated the home economics teacher as some (32%) or very influential (43%) in their choice of major.

Seventy-five percent of the respondents identified job opportunity as a factor having some influence (37%) or being very influential (38%) on their decision to major in home economics. Thirteen percent of the respondents gave demand for minorities in their field as a factor having some influence to being very influential on choice of major while 21% stated that sex was influential on major choice. Personal interest in the field was selected by 93% of the respondents as being very influential on choice of major and 6% indicated this factor as having some influence on major chosen. Therefore, 99% of the respondents rated their personal interest in home economics as the most influencing factor on career choice.

The factor of personal job experience was selected by 57% of the seniors as having some influence (30%) to being very influential (27%) on major choice. Only 13% of the seniors indicated that their choice of major was by chance while 83% rated the chance factor as of little or no influence. College professors were cited as having some (33%) or being very influential (25%) on choice of major by 58% of the respondents while college courses were indicated by 75% as a most influential factor.

Table 3

Influential People and/or Factors Related to Career Choice

Influences	Chi-Square	d. f.	Percentages Some Influence	 Very Influential	 Total
Parents	35.93	56	35	36	71
Friends	41.27	56	33	16	49
High School Counselor	59.48	56	9	7	16
Vo. Ag. Teacher	100.86*	56	1	2	3
Home Economics Teacher	85.67*	56	22	29	51
Job Opportunities	54.81	56	37	38	75
Demand for Minorities (race)	84.56*	56	10	3	13
Demand for Minorities (sex)	64.82	56	14	7	21
Personal Interest	32.77	42	6	93	99
Personal Job Experience	65.05	56	30	27	57
Chance	45.92	56	9	4	13
College Professor	59.81	56	33	25	58
College Courses	56.30	56	32	43	75

*Chi-square 83.48, 56 d.f., significant at .01 level.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study of social origins as a factor of career choice contributes to the knowledge of the effects of the residence factor on career aspirations. Additionally, the results provide data on the most influential people and/or factors related to career choice.

This research indicates that the residence factor or "where you lived most of your life" was not a differentiating factor on career aspirations. Female senior students majoring in home economics at South Carolina State College and Winthrop College tend to have similar desires or aspirations and attitudes toward career choice. For the total sample, 43% expected to have a teaching job most of their lives, while 9% expected to be a housewife. This finding supports the current trend for female students to choose a career outside of the home.

Seventy-five percent of the respondents indicated average level of prestige for career choice and 66% considered their career choice medium in money making potential. Additionally, 49% indicated it important to earn as much money as possible compared with 20% of the group who considered it very important. This finding seems to indicate that money was not the most important aspect of career choice for these majors.

Although free time was important to half of the respondents, education was considered important or very important by 95%. This finding is supported by the increase in female students in advanced degree programs in home economics and related areas. Furthermore, 99% of the respondents, regardless of place of residence, indicated it important or very important to get the kind of job desired. Of the total, 88% rated it important or very important to live in the kind of place desired and 58% indicated it important or very important to have such items as a house, car, furniture and so forth. Marriage was rated important or very important by 84% although only 9% expected to be housewives/homemakers most of their lives. These findings support the trend of female college students to be more independent in decision making concerning their attitudes and aspirations for a career.

Since the home economics teacher factor was found statistically significant as having no influence on respondents' decision to major in home economics additional research is needed to determine the perceived influence (role) of the home economics teacher by home economics students and home economics teachers themselves. Additionally, the counselor's role was limited in the area of major selection. This finding supports the need for more informative communication with high school counselors concerning the home economics profession and its career choices.

"Demand for minorities in home economics field" was found statistically significant as having no influence on respondents decision to major in home economics. This finding is supported by the finding that 99% of the seniors cited "personal interest in the field" as an influential factor for major choices. Parents were indicated by 71% and friends by 49% as influential factors while 75% and 57% of the respondents indicated job opportunity and personal job experience, respectively, as influences on their decision to major in home economics. It is suggested that majors were knowledgeable of job opportunities in home economics and used this information in career decisions. Furthermore, 83% of the group indicated that they did not major in home economics by chance.

College professors were cited by 58% of the respondents as an influential factor while 75% cited college courses as an influential factor. This finding suggests the need for a study of the relationship between teachers and students and the curriculum and job opportunities.

Finally, the research indicated that regardless of place of residence, female home economics students majoring in home economics have similar career aspirations. The findings suggest that they are knowledgeable of career opportunities and have definite attitudes (thoughts) on life goals and career choice.

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ATTRACTION OF YOUTH TO THE PROFESSIONS: THE PROCESS OF GOAL IDENTIFICATION[1]

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Sociologists have traditionally been interested in the way in which different occupations selectively attract persons of differing social characteristics. In particular concern has been directed to the social origins of persons who aspire to enter specific occupations (Pavalko, 1970:345; Blau and Duncan, 1967:295). However, little attention has been given to "the complex processes and associated factors that affect the tracking of certain young people toward careers" (Schwarzweller and Lyson, 1976:2).

Large numbers of youth aspire to professional occupations, and especially to careers in the education and health situses (Alexander and Eckland, 1974:675). The choice of a career situs is a complex one. Not all situses are equally attractive to youth aspiring to professional careers. The basis for this contention is the theoretical presence of a latent hierarchy of professional career fields. More specifically, occupations in the education situs are ranked generally lower in skill level, social status, and difficulty of attainment than occupations in other situses and particularly in the health situs.

Schwarzweller and Lyson (1976:4) suggest that a career in education and specifically in teaching may serve as a comfortable career "refuge" for youth who view their opportunities for vertical mobility restricted by social, economic or personal characteristics. Conceived in this manner, careers in education may serve "as a transitional stage on a ladder of upward intergenerational mobility" for ambitious youth from handicapping backgrounds. Among the restricting characteristics most often mentioned in this context are sex, race, residence, and academic performance. Access to the full range of career options is restricted for youth who are female, black, from a rural area and exh[illegible]g only average academic performance. Consequently, youth posses[illegible] these characteristics are most likely to seek careers in the educational situs, whereas youth who are male, white, urban-reared and above average students are drawn to the more prestigious careers in the health situs.

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[1] Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociology Section, Southern Assoication of Agricultural Scientists, Atlanta, Georgia, February, 1977. The data were collected and analyzed as a part of Alabama Hatch Project 327, contributing to Southern Regional Research Project S-81, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station.

Study Objective

This paper focuses on the question of selectivity among youth aspiring to education and health careers. Emphasis is on the critical decision point represented by the completion of the public school experience and commitment to long-range career goals. The research question addressed is whether selectivity exists at this critical point in terms of which youth aspire to careers in these two prominent professional situses.

Review of Literature

Some sociologists have assumed that certain social structural factors affect youths level of occupational aspirations (Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970:1014). More specifically, they view the job to which one aspires as conditioned not only by the preferences and desires of the person for a particular occupational status but also by a number of factors over which the individual has no control (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1960:265). One such factor is residence. There is support for the contention that rural or urban environments represent different opportunity structures in that urban youth have a more chance to become acquainted with a broader range of occupational possibilities than do rural youth reared in small towns and in the country (Lipset, 1965:203). Greater awareness of occupational status differences and opportunity structures is believed to attract urban youth to high status occupations. Pavalko (1971:53) reported that among youth who planned to become teachers, the ones who actually did so were disproportionately from rural backgrounds.

A second factor considered a determinant of career choice is the individuals sex. This factor is often linked to career attainment through family encouragement and the availability of family financial resources. The greater the family's economic resources the more likely the family is to be able to afford extended education for its children of either sex, (Pavalko, 1968:49). The lack of family financial resources may result in the diversion of the children from more expensive and extended career tracks to lower ranking professions where the educational requirements and costs are less. (Psathas, 1958:256) found that limited resource families were more likely to consciously set aside or divert income to support the occupational attainment of their male children than their female children.

Race is a third social characteristic believed to be a determinant in professional career selection. Numerous studies have compared occupational aspirations of black and white youth (Cosby, 1973; Cosby and Picou, 1972). Sewell, Haller and Portes (1969;85) reported that black youth in their Wisconsin study aspired to lower level occupations than did white youth.

An additional factor involved in the process of occupational choice is the youth's ability to perform well academically. Sewell and Shah (1967:22) found that students with high grade averages aspired to higher ranking and more selective occupational careers, such as those in the health field, whereas those with average grades were more likely to aspire to lower ranking professional careers.

Methodology

Data for this study were collected in 1972 in conjunction with a larger regional research effort. The data used in this analysis represent those obtained from youth in Alabama. The sample consisted of senior students attending high schools in four northeast Alabama counties located in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains and two southeast Alabama counties located in the Black Belt region. Students attending three selected high school in a metropolitan area adjacent to the northeast Alabama counties were also included.

The total sample consisted of approximately 1,500 student respondents who completed questionnaires administered in group settings during the regular school day. All students aspiring to professional careers were identified by responses to the question:

> "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most like to do as a lifetime kind of work?"

One third of 493 students indicated occupations falling within a broad range of professions. However, two occupational situses accounted for 76 percent of this subsample. Youth aspiring to health careers represented 39 percent of the professional aspirants and education 27 percent. The remaining proportion consisted of a variety of other professions.

Selectivity in Occupational Career Choice

The research literature supports the proposition that different professional fields serve a unique role in the process of vertical mobility by virtue of providing easier access to professional status. This selectivity is believed to be most pronounced between the education and health fields and serves youth from disadvantaged social backgrounds and poorer levels of academic performance. Four selective facors have been identified with this filtering process during adolescence as youth form their career choices. The factors included are race, sex, residence, and high school academic performance. Stated as a hypothesis one would expect that youth who are black, female, from a rural background or poor academic achievement are more often attracted to careers in education, than are youth who are white, male, from an urban background or high achievers. These latter youth are more often attracted to careers in the health situs. Tests for selectivity among youth aspiring to different professions are presented in Table 1.

Race. Only a slightly larger percentage (3%) of youth aspiring to educational careers than to careers in the health field were black. Theoretically a teaching career was expected to serve as the most attractive point of entry into the professions for a larger proportion of blacks than the health field. Instead, these data revealed that a variety of professions in fields other than education and health attracted a slightly larger proportion of blacks. The observed differences were small, however, and admission to the health situs as a professional appeared at the aspiration level to be only slightly more restrictive as a point of professional entry than the educational situs.

Sex. The most critical factor in the choice of a professional career proved to be sex. Relatively few youth aspiring to careers in education were males (20%) compared to more than half (53%) of those aspiring to careers in the health field. The sex distinction in potential entrants to these two career fields was further highlighted by the intermediate proportion of males (34%) that aspired to other professional career alternatives. The education situs was clearly a female career track while the health situs was male dominant inspite of including traditionally female careers in nursing.

Residence. This variable like race provided only slight support for the concept of professional career selectivity. Farm and country residents were only slightly more prevalent among youth aspiring to educational careers than among those aspiring to health careers (4% and 1%). Because of the small differences, youth aspiring to other professions did not consistently occupy an intermediate position between the educational and health careers. Only in the cases of farm and town reared youth did this occur.

High School Grade Average. This factor was represented by the student's perception of his or her high school achievement evaluated as an 'A', 'B', 'C' or 'D' average. Although not statistically significant these existed a patterned relationship between grades and career choice. Youth aspiring to educational careers were less likely to be 'A' students and more likely to be 'C' students than aspirants to health careers. On the other hand, youth aspiring to health careers were most likely to perceive themselves as 'A' students. Youth aspiring to other professions again held an intermediate position.

Occupational Attitudes

Research in the area of occupational aspirations often gives the impression that the desires of youth selecting careers in the teaching fields differ not only in terms of who is attracted but also in the attitudes held toward the goals to be attained. Careers in education generally involve only a 4-year college program for initial entry and require less time and financial resources than many of the professional careers in the health situs. Careers in the latter field involve additional years of high cost training beyond the baccalaureate before admission to the field. By comparison, 4 years of college work is the basic admission requirement for educational careers, although additional training specialization is often required for career advancement.

In order to determine the nature of possible differences in the perceptions of conditions relating to the choice of a career field, students were asked to respond to two series of items, one indicating reasons for desiring a particular career and the other, things potentially preventing them from attaining their career goals, Table 2. Only those items which were found significant for either males or females at the .05 probability level are discussed. Throughout this section sex was held constant because of its logical and verified significance in the choice of education and health careers.

Reasons for Career Choice. Attitudes surrounding the choice of a professional career were determined from responses obtained to the questions:

> "Now think of the job you said you would most like to have and circle the reason or reasons that best explain(s) why you desire this kind of work."

A series of twelve reasons were listed. Significant differentiation was found to exist on seven reasons for either or both males and females aspiring to education and health careers. Only three of the reasons were applicable to both males and females - it pays good money, it matches my ability, and I can help other people.

Response patterns revealed that youth in the health fields were more likely to give good pay, being ones own boss, job security and excitement as reasons for their choice. Youth aspiring to careers in education were more likely to emphasize reasons such as knowing a lot about it, matching their ability and helping others. In several instances however, youth aspiring to other professions than education and health were found to be in a polar rather than the intermediate position anticipated. Aspirants to other professions were least likely to indicate knowing a lot about it, matching their ability and, for males but not for females, exciting work. Also, youth aspiring to other careers were most likely to emphasize the importance of job security, helping others and, for females but not males, good pay.

Considering only differences in the proportion of youth aspiring to careers in either the education or health fields who indicated various reasons for their choice, it was observed that a few reasons especially stood out. One of these was helping others. Although 40 percent of the males and 50 percent of the females desiring health careers stressed this motivation, the proportions of males and females in education careers were 20 and 25 percent higher. Similarly, the emphasis on good pay was considerably more prominent among aspirants to health careers than to education careers. The differences were 22 percent among females and 50 percent among males. For males, reasons such as being one's own boss and exciting work also differentiated education and health careers by 24 and 18 percent with those in health careers assigning these motives the greater importance.

Conditions Preventing Occupational Goal Attainment. Another attitudinal factor is the anticipation of conditions or events that might serve as preventive measures in the attainment of one's career goal. The question used to determine this was:

> "Which of the following things might either prevent or make it difficult for you to get the kind of job you would most like to have?"

Nine responses were provided from which all conditions that applied were to be checked.

The data revealed that none of the conditions presented differentiated significantly between both males and females aspiring to education and health careers. However, five conditions did differentiate for one or the other sex grouping-two for males and three for females. Conditions such as the family expects another occupation and lack of experience were the distinguishing conditions for males while overcrowding in this field, age or sex discrimination and lack of such work in the area were distinctive for females.

Females aspiring to careers in education were much more likely to indicate that overcrowding might prevent their entering the field than were those with health career goals. More than 40 percent of the girls in education gave this as a potential hinderance compared to only 14 percent of those in the health situs. Among males a similar pattern existed but the difference was much less pronounced. Males in education were more likely to indicate a conflict of occupational expectations with parents than was noted for those in the health field. The difference among the males was 12 percent but only 3 percent for females. More importantly parent-child conflict over the child's career goal was limited to a small proportion of all youth.

Discrimination in hiring based on age and sex was virtually of no concern to males in any professional career field, but was seen as a selective factor by 20 percent of the females in health careers. This proportion was 16 percent larger than among females in the educational situs. Similarly, females in the health field viewed the lack of local occupational opportunities as more of a handicapped condition than did those in education. This factor was both less important among males and less distinctive between the two career fields.

Overall, none of the hindering conditions are viewed by a majority of these youth as major obstacles to the attainment of their career goals in either education, health or other situs categories.

Conclusions

The findings with regards to the existance of distinctive patterns of selectivity among aspirants to professional careers in the education and health situses are inconsistent at best. The only major source of career selectivity exists along sex lines. Even though male oriented occupations such as coach and administrator are encompassed within the education situs and nurse and lab technician within the health situs, there exists a clear pattern of sex difference among youth aspiring to careers in each. Beyond this, little support was found for the contention that education represents a more easily attainable point of entry into the professions for black, rural and less academically successful youth than the health situs.

Attitudes relating to the attainment of professional career goals reinforces the above findings. Two personal characteristics - race and ability - were included as potential hinderances which would force youth into career s in education. Neither of these characteristics were perceived as major factors impeding one's career goals. Nevertheless attitudinal selectivity did exist between career aspirants. Most interesting was the greater emphasis on humanitarian motives among youth aspiring to careers in education than among those in health. Youth oriented to health careers were strongly motivated by economic considerations. This finding, although very realistic, is not necessarily reassuring to anyone with tradional views of the motivation among professional persons in health careers to "serve their fellow man."

When sex was held constant several distinctive attitudinal differences were observed between youth aspiring to careers in education and health. There is a clear indication that different kinds of conditions are perceived by males and females as potential barriers to the attainment of their career goals.

These data fail to consistently show any extensive selectivity of youth aspiring to professional careers in broadly defined occupational situses. Aside from the traditional sex differences which continue to play a significant role in career choice at the professional level, other background factors reveal little selective impact. Such a finding suggests that perhaps these considerations are not as meaningful at the level of aspirations as they may be at the level of expectations and ultimately in the actual attainment of professional career statuses. Further research may be warranted into professional career tracking.

Table 1. Race, Sex, Residence and Academic Performance Selectivity Among Youth Aspiring to Education, Health and Other Professional Career Situses.

	Job aspiration		
	Education	Other	Health
Race			
White	86.6	85.0	89.9
Black	13.4	15.0	10.2
Number	(134)	(193)	(166)
X^2 = .436 d.f. = 1 p = NS			
Sex			
Male	20.1	34.2	53.0
Female	79.9	65.8	47.0
Number	(134)	(193)	(166)
X^2 = 32.498 d.f. = 1 p = .001			
Area of residence			
City	56.0	55.7	57.2
Town	9.0	10.4	12.7
Country	20.1	20.3	19.3
Farm	14.9	13.5	10.8
Number	(134)	(192)	(166)
X^2 = 1.945 d.f. = 3 p = NS			
High School Grade Level			
A average	18.9	19.8	23.3
B average	57.6	58.3	55.2
C average	23.5	21.9	21.5
Number	(132)	(187)	(163)
X^2 = .857 d.f. = 2 p = NS			

Missing observations = 11

Table 2. Occupational Attitudes of Males and Females Aspiring to Education, Health and Other Professional Career Situses.

	Job aspiration									
	Females					Males				
Reasons for desiring this job	Education	Other	Health	X^2	P*	Education	Other	Health	X^2	P*
	% Yes					% Yes				
Know a lot about it	14.0	5.5	9.0	4.997	NS	37.0	6.2	19.3	13.292	S
Pays good money	14.1	38.6	35.9	18.907	S	11.1	60.0	60.2	22.127	S
Matches my ability	34.6	12.6	32.1	17.722	S	44.4	16.9	31.8	8.145	S
Can be my own boss	1.9	3.1	6.4	2.824	NS	3.7	32.3	27.3	8.470	S
Offers security	10.3	18.9	12.8	3.710	NS	11.1	36.9	22.7	7.609	S
Exciting work	31.8	41.7	43.6	3.437	NS	25.9	20.0	43.2	9.775	S
Help other people	75.7	85.8	50.0	32.207	S	59.3	66.2	39.8	11.058	S
Things which might prevent getting desired job										
Its becoming overcrowded	41.1	7.9	14.1	41.778	S	33.3	12.2	21.6	5.543	NS
Persons of my age & sex not usually hired	3.7	15.7	19.2	11.965	S	3.7	0.0	5.7	3.759	NS
Lack of experience	15.9	26.0	20.5	3.574	NS	11.1	18.5	31.8	6.520	S
Work not available	13.1	7.9	25.6	12.731	S	3.7	4.6	12.5	3.933	NS
Family expects me to do other work	12.1	8.7	9.0	0.897	NS	14.8	1.5	2.3	10.199	S

*Significant at .05 level of probability

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OBSTACLES IN THE CAREER ATTAINMENT PROCESS AMONG LOW-INCOME SOUTHERN YOUTH*

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One of the most important decision made by persons is the choice of an occupation. One's life chances, economic well-being, and sense of self-worth are significantly influenced by his or her occupational choice. Given the nature of the American occupational structure which relies heavily upon education and training, usually acquired during adolescence and early adulthood, it is necessary for persons to begin preparation for a career as youths. It is also true that the barriers one perceives as prohibiting him/her from attaining a chosen occupation should exert considerably influence upon the kind of job he or she attains.

The problems of satisfactory occupational attainment are especially difficult for low-income youth. They often attend the poorer schools, receive less positive motivation from parents, and, of course, are members of families with severely limited financial resources which restrict opportunities for vocational and professional training. Patricia Sexton has graphically demonstrated the poorer quality of educational facilities and programs in schools attended by low-income youth (1964). Likewise, Melvin L. Kohn (1962) has asserted that differential socialization occurs in families of different social classes, with those youth from lower-income families receiving less encouragement and desire for the attainment of high goals.

While the cultural ideal in American society is that anyone can rise to attain the job he or she desires, upward vertical mobility has been limited--particularly among low-income persons (Lipset, 1955). The assumption has often been made, and is implicit in other facets and phases of the research project from which this paper emanates (Southern Regional Project S-63 and Follow-Up) that low-income, ethnic, and other disadvantaged youth do not have high goals. In fact, an implicit purpose of the focus of occupational attainment research upon occupational goals is the belief that if low-income and other low-achieving youth had high goals, their occupational attainment would be considerably higher. The theoretical foundation of much of the occupational aspiration research has been Davis and Moore's functional theory of stratification (Davis and Moore, 1945). Therefore, while high occupational goals may be a necessary condition for high levels of occupational attainment, they are not a sufficient condition by themselves. Recent empirical verification is available to indicate that the goals of low-income and ethic youth are quite high, much higher in fact that their actual occupational attainment to date would suggest.[1] Therefore, perhaps the problems low-income individuals have in obtaining satisfactory employment are not ones of low goals, but of barriers and blockages to these goals.

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*This is an expanded version, utilizing data from six Southern states, of a paper on the perceived occupational barriers of low-income youth in Kentucky presented at the annual meeting of the Mid-South Sociological Association, 1976.

Consequently, the sample of low-income youth reported on in this paper were queried in regard to how they perceived selected personal and structural barriers as inhibiting their occupational attainment. It is, of course, likely that many of these youth--because of inexperience or youthful idealism--will not recognize many of the constraints which may prohibit them from achieving their occupational goals.

The sample selected for study in 1975 was 946 high school juniors, seniors, and drop-outs from low-income areas of Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. All of the youth in the sample had previously participated in an earlier phase of a longitudinal study of occupational and educational goals. All of the students were fifth or six graders in 1969 at segregated schools. The 1969 sample was evenly divided between boys and girls. Three-fourths of the sample was from rural areas and one-fourth was urban. About 60 percent of the sample is white, with 40 percent being black. The current sample represents approximately 65% of the original sample.

In addition to the questions asked only of the older youth about the barriers they perceived keeping them from attaining their occupational preferences, the youth were asked to name occupations and levels of education they aspered to and those they expected to attain. Consequently, in addition to describing the barriers named by the youth, the relationships between levels of goals and perceived barriers will be examined to see if the perception of barriers has any influence upon the level of goals the students project. Those students who aspired to and/or expected to attain managerial and professional positions were considered to have high occupational goals. Students who aspired to or expected to attain semiskilled or unskilled jobs were considered to have low occupational goals. Students aspiring to or expecting clerical and skilled jobs were considered to have intermediate occupational goals. Similarly, students who aspired to or expected to attend college were classified as youth with high educational goals, while those who did not aspire to complete high school or trade school had low educational goals. Students desiring or planning to complete high school or trade school were classified as having intermediate educational goals. While I am aware of the distinction made between occupational aspirations and occupational expectations by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), both aspirations and expectations have been considered as goals, with the latter being considered as only slightly more realistic than the former. The more important evidence of goal deflection among these youth would appear to be that between their 1969 and 1975 goals.

In addition, the perceived occupational barriers were examined to see if they differed by sex, race, place of residence, socioeconomic status, intelligence, or previous work experience. While this sample was deliberately selected to be comprised of low-income youth, a socioeconomic variable was constructed primarily to assess change over time in the socioeconomic condition of the families of these youth. Socioeconomic status was dicotomized into middle and low socioeconomic levels, using a Hollingshead type Two-factor scale of occupation and education of the youth' fathers. Only 5 percent of the families had moved upward into the middle socioeconomic level in 1975. Intelligence was measured by a test given in 1969 to all respondents. Previous work experience is an ordinal level measurement created by casting the youth into the highest category of their occupational experience. That is, while many youth had work experience at several levels, part-time, summer work, and full-time, they were for purposes of analysis forced into the category they had checked which represented the most work experience.

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[1] These results are from preliminary analysis of the data from Southern Regional Research Project S-63 and Follow-Up, "Influences on Occupational Goals of Young People in Three Southern Subcultures."

In light of the fact that these low-income youth have expressed high aspirations and it is likely that only a few of them will attain professional or managerial employment, it is of importance to see what barriers they perceive as possibly blocking their occupational attainment. While few of these youth recognize important potential barriers to their personal occupational attainment, they are somewhat more realistic in this regard than youth reported on in previous investigations (Simmons and Rosenberg, 1971).

Table 1 lists the relative imporatnce of the following occupational barriers: lack of money to attend college, lack of job information, race, sex, intelligence, schools attended, and the lack of good job opportunities available in local communities.

Table 1. THE IMPORTANCE OF SELECTED PERCEIVED JOB BARRIERS IN PREVENTING YOUTH FROM OBTAINING DESIRED JOBS, IN PERCENTAGES

Job Barriers	Very Much	Some	Very Little	N
1. Lack of Good Job Opportunities Around Here	34.1	40.9	25.0	(816)
2. Not Enough Money to Go to College	24.1	34.2	41.6	(808)
3. Don't Want to Move Away From Family and Friends	14.4	29.3	56.3	(785)
4. Lack of Information About Jobs	9.8	42.0	48.3	(808)
5. The Schools I Have Attended	9.5	23.3	67.2	(760)
6. Not Smart Enough	8.2	34.0	57.8	(794)
7. My Race	6.7	11.3	82.0	(778)
8. My Sex	3.8	8.8	87.4	(763)

The youth queried see the lack of good job opportunities available in their local communities as the primary barrier hindering them from attaining the job they want. Nearly one-third of these low-income adolescents see this as a major occupational obstacle, while three of four perceive this to be something of a problem. Certainly, in one sense this appears to be a realistic appraisal given the unrealistically high goals of these youth and the current occupational structure in most communities. Slightly over one-half of these youth aspire to professional and managerial careers, with one-third expressing the belief that they will attain their occupational goal of professional and managerial jobs. While the occupational structure in most American communities has been expanding most rapidly in the professional sector, it is unlikely that there will be job opportunities in these sectors for that large a percentage of low-income youth.

It is perhaps more likely that this perception represents the general problem which peers and older friends have discussed either with or in the presence of these youth--the perennial problem of a paucity of good occupational opportunities being available locally. Surprisingly enough, the lack of good job opportunities is not more acutely perceived among rural, female, or black youth. It would seem to this writer that professional and managerial job opportunities would be substantially less available in rural areas, and especially for females in rural areas.

Equally unexpected is the finding that no relationship exists between the level of occupational and educational aspirations and expectations and the perception of a lack of good job opportunities as being a significant obstacle to job attainment. In other words, those youth seeking professional occupations do not see the paucity of good jobs as either being a greater or lesser problem than those youth seeking semiskilled and unskilled occupations. Similarly, those adolescents who changed the level of their occupational aspirations and occupational expectations in a downward direction over the six year period (30% and 33%, respectively) did not rate the lack of good jobs available locally as more of a hindrance than those students whose occupational goals remained the same or those who raised the level of their goals. Therefore, it would seem that the downward goal deflection expressed was not related to or influenced by the availibility of desired jobs.

While the lack of good job opportunities is seen by these adolescents as the major barrier to their occupational attainment, this perception does not appear to vary by sex, race, place of residence, intelligence, socioeconomic status, level of occupational or educational goals, goal deflection, or work experience. Therefore, the conclusion is drawn that the feeling so prevalent among youth that there exists a paucity of good job opportunities is a cultural norm which appears universal in nature. Apparently, this idea, which most young persons come into contact with through adults, peers, and older friends, permeates the cultural milieu of low-income Southern communities.

Not having enough money to attend college is perceived as the second major barrier to occupational attainment among these youth. One-fourth of them see this as a principal difficulty, with 58 percent indicating it to be a lesser problem. While 45 percent of the adolescents queried expressed college attendance as an educational aspiration, only 29 percent expect to go to college. Thus, while we do not know that those youth who plan to go to college and those who see the lack of money as an important barrier are the same individuals, assumption of a large amount of overlap between the two groups would indicate that limited financial resources are perecived as a chief barrier to occupational attainment among low-income youth.

As indicated by Table 2, girls perceive the lack of money to attend college as a more severe deterrent to their desired careers than do boys. The same percentage of males and females want and expect to attend college, with slightly more females desiring professional and managerial careers. Therefore, the relationship between being female and perceiving money to be a major constraint is .12.[1] One possibility is that this is seen as more of a barrier to girls because more of them aspire to the professions, thereby making college more essential. A more probable explanation, since the parents queried tended to have higher occupational goals for boys, is that the limited financial resources available will be preferentially offered to males in the family.

Table 2. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LACK OF MONEY TO ATTEND COLLEGE AS A BARRIER TO OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX

Effect of Lack of Money to Attend College as a Barrier to Occupational Attainment	Sex of Respondent		Total
	Male	Female	
Very Little	183 (45%)	165 (39%)	348
Some	141 (34%)	145 (34%)	286
Very Much	86 (21%)	116 (27%)	202
Total	410 (100%)	426 (100%)	836
Gamma = .12 ($P < .01$)			

Those youth with high occupational aspirations believe the lack of money to attend college was a greater obstacle (Gamma =.22) than those youth with lower aspirations. Similarily, those adolescents with higher educational aspirations saw the lack of money to attend college as a more severe barrier (Gamma =.17). The above youth probably perceive lack of money to attend college as more of a barrier since it is more essential to their occupational goals. Surprisingly, neither occupational nor educational expectations is related to the lack of money to attend college as an encumbrance upon career attainment.

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[1] Gamma is the ordinal level measure of association employed here and elsewhere throughout this paper (See Mueller).

Those youth with the most extensive work experience see the lack of money to attend college as a lesser obstacle that those youth with less work experience (Gamma =.10). This is probably due to fact that those youth with the most work experience, many of whom are already working full-time, do not plan careers which require college attendance. This relationship can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LACK OF MONEY TO ATTEND COLLEGE AS A BARRIER TO OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY WORK EXPERIENCE

The Effect of Lack of Money to Attend College as a Barrier to Occupational Attainment	Work Experience				Total
	Full-Time	Summer Full-Time	Part-Time	None	
Very Little	40	72	168	57	337
Some	27	61	145	51	284
Very Much	21	36	105	38	200
Total	88	169	418	146	821
Gamma = .10 (P<.01)					

The desire not to leave family and friends is the third obstacle in terms of importance as deterring these adolescents from career attainment. Even so, only 14 percent see this as a major problem, with an additional 29 percent perceiving this as a minor problem. On the other hand, a majority of youth questioned did not see this as a problem at all. Surprisingly, no significant difference was noted between males and females in regard to leaving family and friends. Previous research has indicated that females plan to migrate from communities more than males (Schwarzeller), though these plans to migrate may be related more to getting married and the desire to leave home rather than to pursue occupational careers. Equally surprising is the finding that no racial or residential difference is recorded for this sample in terms of perceiving the desire not to leave family and friends as an occupational barrier.

Among those students with higher levels of occupational aspirations and occupational expectations, leaving family or friends represents a minor hinderance to obtaining the job they want. (Gamma =.10 for occupational aspiration and .14 for occupational expectation).

In light of the fact that in contemporary society geographic mobility is often a prerequisite for upward social mobility, the youth with professional and managerial occupational desires and plans apparently are willing to move away from their local communities if necessary to seek the job they want. Similarily, the limited data available suggests that youth from higher socio-economic families see leaving family and friends as less of a problem than less affluent adolescents.

While the major occupational barriers perceived by these youth, lack of good job opportunities in their local communities, not enough money to attend college, and the desire not to leave family and friends, do not seem to be clearly and strongly associated with the social variables we had hoped would contribute to an understanding of the occupational obstacles low-income youth recognize, a most interesting finding is that some of the lesser occupational hindrances seen by these youth are quite strongly related to proposed social variables. Consequently, the most important contributions of this paper may be to call attention to the relationship of some of these lesser barriers to factors which seem to influence them. The discussion of these occupational encumbrances will be limited to those variables and influences to which they seem most strongly related.

Contrary to the often made assertion that youth, and particularly low-income and ethnic youth, lack adequate knowledge about job opportunities, less than 10 percent of the subjects believed lack of occupational information would severely inhibit their job attainment. Almost one-half of the youth indicated that the lack of information was not a serious problem at all. Black youth see the lack of job information as more of a problem than white youth (Gamma = .10). And not surprisingly, rural youth perceive lack of information as a more severe handicap than urban youth (Gamma = .20). This latter perception is most likely due to the more limited range of jobs and role models available in rural communities. Interestingly enough, the lack of information about jobs is no greater impediment for those with higher occupational goals than for those with unskilled career aspirations. Lack of information was thought to be more of a barrier by those youth with lower levels of intelligence (Gamma = .11). Apparently, the brighter youth feel more comfortable with what they know about jobs than do the adolescents with lower intelligence.

Patricia Sexton in EDUCATION AND INCOME has described the generally inferior facilities of public schools in low-income areas, particularly those of the inner city. Seymour Lipset (1955) has aptly pictured the nature of rural schools as being inferior to their urban counterparts. Consequently, the assumption seems reasonable that these youth would perceive the schools they had attended as something of a hinderance to their vocational plans. In fact, 67 percent of the respondents did not feel that the quality of schools they had attended might have an important negative effect on their future jobs, while 23 percent responded that this would present some problem.

As can be seen in Table 4, blacks feel the schools they have attended will be more of an occupational burden than do white youth. As all of the youth in the sample were attending predominantly segregated schools at least at the elementary level, the black respondents probably did attend schools which were inferior to the schools attended by white youth. Therefore, their assessment of schools they have attended as being a greater occupational impediment is probably correct. No significant relationship between the urban or rural location of [illegible] in importance as job barriers was found.

Table 4. THE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED AS PERCEIVED BY YOUTH AS BEING BARRIERS TO THEIR OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY RACE

The Effect of Schools Attended as a Barrier to Occupational Attainment	Race of Respondent		Total
	Black	White	
Very Little	188	322	511
Some	86	91	177
Very Much	39	33	72
Total	313	447	760
Gamma = .17 (P< .01)			

Those students with higher occupational and educational goals, with the one exception of ocupational expectations, see the schools they have attended as more of a barrier then those students with lower goals. Perhaps these high aspiring students realize they will be competing for those top jobs with others who come from good schools, or perhaps these students are simply more aware of the limitations of their schools from having spent more time and interest in them.

Nearly 60 percent of the high school juniors, seniors, and drop-outs queried noted that they had adequate intelligence to obtain the hob they wanted. Only 8 percent, which is still rather high since those students with abnormally low intelligence were not included in the sample, of the students responded that their low level of intellecutal ability would be an important hindrance in obtaining the job of their choice. Nonetheless, it is rather surprising that over one-third of the youth indicated that lack of intelligence would limit to some degree their occupational attainment. While there were some adolescents who felt they were not smart enough, it is of interest to note that they were not disproportionately represented in any racial, sexual, or residential group. That is, these youth in their perception of intellectual ability did not appear to be influenced in any major way by the popular stereotyped images of blacks, females, and rural youth being inferior. Students with high occupational and educational goals see lack of intelligence as a less serious barrier than those youth desiring unskilled jobs which do not require college training (Gamma = .13). Apparently these youth feel their intelligence adequate for the occupations they desire.

While approximately 42 percent of the entire sample is black, only 7 percent of all respondents considered that their race would severely restrict their job attainment, with another 11 percent believing that their race would effect to some degree their job opportunities. As one might expect, race as a barrier is a much greater concern to black youth, over 13 percent of whom consider race to be a principal obstacle, and over one-fourth of whom consider their race to be an impediment of some importance. This relationship can be seen below in Table 5.

Table 5. THE IMPORTANCE OF RACE AS A PERCEIVED JOB BARRIER BY RACE OF RESPONDENT

The Effect of My Race as a Barrier to Occupational Attainment	Race of Respondent		Total
	Black	White	
Very Little	202	436	638
Some	81	7	88
Very Much	44	8	52
Total	327	451	778
Gamma = .64 (P< .01)			

Those students with high occupational aspirations (Gamma = .21) and occupational expectations (Gamma = .12) as well as youth with high educational aspirations (Gamma = .28) and educatioanl expectations (Gamma = .34) saw their race as a more formidible barrier than those with lower goals. While the relationship between level of goals and race as an occupational barrier is inflated by the slightly higher goals of black youth, those black youth with the highest occupational and educational goals see race as the strongest barrier to their occupational attainment. One surprising finding is that those youth who have raised their goals over the six year period see race as a considerably more important barrier than those whose goals have decreased or those who have remained the same. The gamma coefficient for the relationship between change in educational expectation (higher) and race as a perceived barrier (black) is .15. Apparently, those who have raised their occupational sights have become more aware of race as a barrier. Contrary to expectation, those who have lowered their goals see race as a minor barrier, much less constraining than those with upward goal deflection. Therefore, these youth have most likely not lowered their goals because of racial barriers. One possible explanation, contrary to that offered by Antonovsky and Lerner (1959), is that black youth expect to find more discrimination in the professions than they would expect to find attempting to enter manual and lower level white collar jobs.

Almost ninety percent of the respondents, half of whom were females, believed that their sex would not restrict their job attainment. Four percent thought the problem severe, with 9 percent perceiving sex as a minor barrier to job attainment. Females perceive their sex to be more of a barrier than males. The relationship between sex as a barrier (very much) and sex of respondent (female) is .21. Some slight evidence of feelings of reverse discrimination among males surfaces in that 8 percent of the males feel that sex will to some extent inhibit their occupational attainment. Sex was seen as more of a barrier by youth whose families had experienced upward mobility over the six year period.

In summary, the most formidible barrier these youth see as limiting their occupational plans is the lack of good job opportunities in their community. This is probably an accurate perception. Certainly finding a good job is one of the most difficult single tasks persons face. There is a particularly acute shortage of good jobs to be fould for those low-income students who do not complete school, and many of these youth have already dropped out.

These low-income youth perceive a lack of money to attend college as the second major barrier to occupational attainment. They are probably correct in their assessment that because of limited financial resources, the lack of money to attend college may limit their career choice. This dilemma is even more poignantly drawn for girls, who feel this barrier most keenly. Apparently, the girls surveyed do not believe they will receive their share of their family's limited financial resources in order to attend college.

A final important barrier is that of not wanting to leave family and friends. While this is a real barrier, it is, nonetheless, one the youth could overcome by themselves. These youth could give up their strong desire to remain physically close to friends and relatives and thereby attain their occupational goals.

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MEXICAN AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT:

A CROSS-ETHNIC COMPARISON[1]

by

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Abstract

Although interest in Mexican American attainment patterns has increased over the past decade, research has focused on achievement orientations of youth rather than on documentation of actual socioeconomic and educational achievements. The present paper provides such documentation for the South Texas region and investigates residential and inter-ethnic differentials in occupational distributions and socioeconomic returns from educational investments. Data sources involve the South Texas Youth Study and the 1970 Public Use Sample of the United States Census.

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MEXICAN AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT: A CROSS-ETHNIC COMPARISON

Introduction

Although interest in Mexican American attainment patterns has increased over the past decade, most research has emphasized adolescent achievement orientations rather than attainment levels per se. As a result there has developed an unfortunate neglect of documentation regarding actual socioecomonic and occupational distributions. Such documentation as has been provided has emphasized published reports of the United States Census (Moore, 1976) which, while valuable, do not allow assessment of inter-relationships among educational, occupational and economic achievements. Nor do they permit assessment of residential and inter-ethnic differentials in occupational distributions and socioeconomic returns from educational investments. The present paper addresses these issues through secondary analysis of non-metropolitan and metropolitan data on Mexican American and Anglo male family breadwinners provided by the South Texas Youth Study and by the 1970 Public Use Sample of the United States Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1972).

Relevant Literature

As noted by Penalosa (1967), prior to the late sixties, many reports concerning the Mexican American population either ignored the heterogenity of this ethnic group while concentrating on qualitative studies of atypical rural enclaves of traditional culture, or relied on source materials twenty or more years old. Unfortunately, these have contributed to the development of stereotypes which blur intra-ethnic class distinctions and which emphasize low attainment levels and cultural values antagonistic to achievement in Anglo society, while failing to consider "broad rural-urban, class, occupational, educational and regional differences in the Mexican American population." (Penalosa, 1967, see also: Kluckhohn, 1941; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Madsen, 1964; Johanson, 1943; Edmondson, 1957; Rubel, 1966). Since the late sixties, Mexican American stratification studies have largely focused on achievement orientations of Mexican American youth. Unfortunately, this more recent trend has not been accompanied by clarification of the relative positions of Mexican Americans and Anglos, but rather has been carried forth under low attainment assumptions derived from the continuing influences of earlier studies of the type Penalosa criticized. Thus, without detailing parental attainment patterns while reporting on urban youth in Los Angeles, Heller (1966, 1971), Gordon (Gordon et al., 1968) and Schwartz (1969) continued emphasis on cultural factors by arguing that through socialization to traditional values the Mexican American family fails to motivate its children to high status career goals.

Rejecting cultural arguments, Hernandez (1970), Montiel (1973) and Romano-V (1973) charged the Los Angeles researchers with ethnocentrism, limited data bases, and failure to consider structural barriers to achievement. However, they also neglected explicit documentation and discussion of actual attainment patterns in light of such barriers. Similarly, although Venegas (1973) and Kuvlesky and his associates (Kuvlesky et. al., 1971; Wright et. al., 1973; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975) demonstrated that status aspirations of Mexican American youth in Texas equalled and exceeded those of Anglo peers, these researchers also tended to under-emphasize actual achievements while suggesting structural barriers to explain assumed low attainment levels.

The above discussion should not be taken to indicate that sociologists know nothing of the actual socioeconomic positions of today's Mexican Americans. However, what is known is largely a product of the work of Moore (1976) who has synthesized and interpreted published reports of the 1970 U.S. Census and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. As of 1970, approximately 90% of the estimated 7,000,000 Mexican Americans in the United States lived in one of the 5 Southwestern states. Of these, 34% resided in Texas and 50% resided in California (Moore, 1976). More urbanized than generally believed, most live in Los Angeles and nearby cities or in the border cities of South and West Texas. In certain of the latter, as for example Laredo, and in the smaller border towns, the Chicano population comprises the numerical majority. In 1970, only 15% lived in rural areas (Moore, 1976, pp.56-57). However, this reflects the result of a rapid movement to the cities since 1950, when the rural population approximated 30%. Reflecting high birth rates, the median age is 20.2 years (Moore, 1976, pp. 59-60) and the dependency ratio of 101 dependents per 100 Mexican Americans age 18 to 64 compares adversely with the Anglo dependency ratio of 77.

With reference to socioeconomic status, Moore (1976, pp.62-66) reports the census median income figure of $4,839 for Spanish surname males over 16 years of age. She notes that in Texas the median income of Chicano males was only 60% of the figure for Anglo males. In California the ratio was only 75%. Controlling for age, incomes of Mexican American males relative to Anglos declines steadily. This is in part due to larger proportions of foreign born persons in the older age categories.

According to Moore (1976), Fogel (1966) and Schmidt (1970), the lower incomes of Mexican American males reflect concentration in lower status occupations within broad categories as well as lower pay for equivalent work. Inspecting census data reported by Moore (1976, p.64), Spanish surname males appear under-represented relative to Anglos in all white collar categories and over-represented among blue collar workers and in particular, in the operative, laborer and farm laborer categories. Unfortunately these reports reflect data on males age 16 and over. Given the high rates of birth and migration among this ethnic group, as compared to Anglos, consideration of such broad age groupings may partially distort perceptions of occupational patterns. According to Bullock (1973), younger Mexican American males suffer from unique combinations of pressures, including poor education, arrest records and discrimination. Writing in 1973, Bullock estimated that perhaps as much as 33% of Los Angeles Chicano males under age 24 may be counted among the hard core unemployed in that discouragement has led many to give up the search for a job.

In directing attention to the occupations of family breadwinners, the present study may offer a more accurate view of the Mexican American family in Anglo dominated society. While studies of inter-ethnic occupational differentials among males age 16 and over are important, they confound the socioeconomic problems of unmarried, mobile youth and young adults with the situation of more settled family breadwinners. As a result low attainment may be exaggerated and an unwarranted stereotype of under-achievement and failure may be perpetuated. Thus, limiting investigation to family breadwinners permits clearer insight as to the effects of ethnic discrimination by avoiding confusion of these with the problems of youth.

Data Sources and Methodology

Data on non-metropolitan Mexican Americans provided by the 1973 South Texas Youth Study allow a unique opportunity to review occupational distributions of male breadwinners in relatively traditional settings. Useable data on approximately 258 Chicano and 18 Anglo family breadwinners were obtained through classroom administered questionnaires completed by high school sophomores in 5 South Texas border communities. The study communities may be described as small, agriculturally dependent, economically depressed, and relatively isolated settlements in which Mexican Americans dominated numerically, politically and socially. Ethnic status was determined by the question "Are you of Mexican American ancestry?" Persons who answered negatively were taken as Anglos if their race was Caucasian.

Several limitations of this data set should be noted explicitly. First, and most obvious, is that Mexican Americans so dominated the communities that the number of Anglo breadwinners was insufficient for meaningful statistical assessments of status differentials. Therefore, while data on Anglos are reported, its significance is not to be stressed. Second, the use of questionnaires distributed in sophomore classrooms (a) restricts accuracy of information to dependency upon adolescent perceptions, (b) may weight data toward higher parental attainments as information on families of high school drop-outs was not obtained and (c) may focus attention on a narrow and perhaps atypical age range of family breadwinners. Finally, information on income from occupation was not obtained, therefore income rewards must be inferred from Duncan socioeconomic index scores (Featherman, et. al., 1975) associated with specific occupational titles. In light of the work of Fogel (1966) and of Schmidt (1970) it is probable that, unstandardized to this ethnic group and region, scores may overestimate Mexican American economic achievements while more accurately reflecting Anglo levels.

Data on metropolitan family breadwinners available from the Public Use Sample is more reliable. The Public Use Sample may be described as a representative, stratified, systematic sample of the basic records from the 1970 census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972). The Family Data Tapes from which the present records were obtained represent essentially representative, stratified, random samples of up to 1500 family households within each of 42 randomly selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) of 250,000 and above population (Marshall, 1975). If a SMSA Public Use Sample data set held less than 1500 long form family household records, all available family household records were selected.

Among the 42 SMSA's represented, only Corpus Christi and El Paso, are located in the general region of South and West Texas. Intending to minimize confusion of variations due to region with those due to urbanity, these SMSA's were selected as the best available for comparison with the non-metropolitan data of the South Texas Youth Study. Family breadwinners were defined as male primary family heads and chief income recipients. Whites not of Spanish descent were taken to be Anglos. Persons of Mexican descent who were not Negro, Oriental or Hawaiian were classified as Mexican Americans. These techniques produced samples containing educational and occupational data on 157 Mexican Americans and 337 Anglo breadwinners from the Corpus Christi SMSA in 1970 and on 241 Mexican Americans and 281 Anglos from the El Paso SMSA.

In order to assess occupational attainment patterns, occupational data were coded both as Duncan Socioeconomic Index scores and in terms of ten major census categories (private household workers and service workers were combined in a single category). Public Use Sample educational data were coded as highest grade in school completed. Vocational training with completion of high school was treated as equivalent to one year of college. Educational data from the South Texas study was available only as irregular categories which were coded as their midpoint. These included: "did not attend school" coded as "0", "grades 1-7" coded as the midpoint "4", "eighth grade" coded as "8", "some high school but did not graduate" coded as "10", "graduated from high school" coded as "12", "vocational school after graduating from high school" coded as "13", and "college graduate" coded as "16".

Analysis and Interpretation

Table 1 permits inter-ethnic comparisons of occupational distributions by residence. Chi square tests indicated statistically significant differences in occupational distributions of Mexican Americans and Anglos in each metropolitan area considered. Unfortunately, the small number of Anglos available from the non-metropolitan sample did not permit chi square assessment of those occupational distributions. Still, non-metropolitan variations may be noted with caution.

Although Mexican Americans of non-metropolitan residence exhibited slightly higher proportions than Anglos in professional and sales positions and among all residential categories, exceeded proportions of Anglos in clerical jobs, in each residential category Mexican Americans were under-represented in white collar positions taken as a whole. Among blue collar categories, non-metropolitan Mexican Americans were markedly under-represented in the high status fields of craftspersons and operatives and were markedly over-represented in the laboring and farming categories. In metropolitan areas, Mexican Americans dominated each blue collar category with the exception of craftspersons positions in Corpus Christi. The failure of El Paso Anglos to dominate the craftspersons category may reflect greater blue collar opportunities for Mexican Americans. However, these opportunities may result less from lower levels of ethnic discrimination than from higher levels of absorption of Anglos into a large white collar labor force.

Supplementing data on differential distributions among major occupational categories, Table 2 suggests inter-ethnic status differentials within categories. In light of the work of Schmidt (1970) and Fogel (1966), it may be expected that Mexican Americans would exhibit Duncan Socioeconomic Index scores that would be lower, on the average, than those of Anglos. While the small number of Anglos in the non-metropolitan sample again requires caution in interpretation, it may still be noted that the tendency was for Mexican Americans to average higher socioeconomic index scores than did Anglos. However, when non-metropolitan comparisons were made without controlling for occupational category, Anglo breadwinners' average scores exceeded those of whites by 8 points.

Among metropolitan categories ethnic socioeconomic differences were greater with Mexican Americans generally faring worse off relative to their Anglo peers, although slightly better off than their non-metropolitan counterparts. In the Corpus Christi sample, Anglos exceeded the status levels of Mexican Americans in every category except those of clerical workers and operatives. In the managerial, craftspersons and transportation operatives categories, Mexican American average status scores were significantly lower than those of Anglos. In El Paso, Anglos again tended to hold higher status positions. Only in the laborers category did Mexican Americans average higher socioeconomic scores. However, it was only in the clerical category that socioeconomic status scores for Mexican Americans were significantly lower than those for Anglos.

The above observations add further support to the conclusions of Schmidt (1970) and Fogel (1966) that Mexican Americans hold lower status positions within broad occupational categories. Still, it might be argued that the relative positions of Mexican Americans vis-a-vis Anglos is a function of qualifications rather than ethnic discrimination. Using education as an indicator of qualifications for occupational roles, Tables 3 and 4 address this issue. Table 3 clearly indicates the lower levels of educational attainments of Mexican Americans. In every residential and occupational category, except that of clerical workers in Corpus Christi (in which Mexican Americans also averaged slightly higher socioeconomic index scores than Anglos), Anglos averaged higher educational attainments. In each residential category, without controlling for occupational category, inter-ethnic educational differentials were statistically significant. While the low frequencies of Anglos again precluded assessment of the statistical significance of within category differences in the non-metropolitan sample, among the metropolitan samples, the lower attainments of Mexican Americans were statistically significant in 6 of the 10 occupational categories of Corpus Christi breadwinners and in 7 of the 10 occupational categories of El Paso breadwinners.

Such evidence suggests that Mexican American Occupancy of lower status roles at least in part results from lower educational attainments. Leaving aside the complex issue of institutional factors in educational discrimination, lower socioeconomic attainments may also reflect segregation operating directly within the occupational sector and independently of educational attainments. In order to assess occupational segregation independent of educational differentials at least three questions must be answered concerning actual patterns of association between educational background and levels of occupational socioeconomic attainment. Is there a consistent relationship between educational background and levels of occupational socioeconomic attainment? Is the relationship equally consistent for each ethnic group within a given residential category? On the average, within residential categories,are equivalent educational attainments associated with equivalent socioeconomic attainments?

Table 4 provides answers to each of these questions. Regarding consistency, as indicated by the "P" values less than .05, in each residential-ethnic category the association of socioeconomic attainment and education was statistically significant. However, although each Pearsonian r value was significantly different from "0", the consistencies of the relationships varied. As a proportionate reduction in error statistics, the r^2 values permit comparison of levels of consistency. Ethnic differences in r^2 values ranged from a low of .035 in the Corpus Christi sample to a high of .118 in the El Paso sample. Although the r^2 values indicated that the relationship was more consistent for Anglos than for the Mexican Americans in the South Texas sample and in the El Paso sample, in the Corpus Christi sample the relationship of education and socioeconomic attainment was more consistent among Mexican Americans. However, as noted previously, this latter difference was only .036.

Having noted the significance of the relationship of educational and socioeconomic attainments, and the variations in the consistencies of these relationships among ethnic-residential categories, attention may be shifted to the average socioeconomic attainments associated with equivalent levels of educational attainment. As indicated by the "b" values in Table 4, on the average Mexican Americans in each residential category tended to receive lower status returns by year of education than did Anglos. However, only in the metropolitan samples were these differences statistically significant. Non-metropolitan Mexican Americans fared better off than their metropolitan counterparts. Among the non-metropolitan sample, status returns by year of education for Mexican Americans averaged only 89.0% of the Anglo figure. Among the metropolitan samples, El Paso Mexican Americans averaged 63.7% of the Anglo figure. Such differential rates of return for equivalent educational backgrounds indicates forces of segregation operating independently of previously observed differences in educational attainments.

Conclusions

While not overturning previous perceptions of the status position of Mexican Americans in United States society, important clarifications have been accomplished. Prior observations regarding under-representations in the white collar categories are reinforced and more systematic documentation has been provided regarding concentrations in lower status positions within broad categories. That these status differences cannot be explained as the simple result of lower educational attainments is an equally important observation of the present study. Two explanations are suggested regarding ethnic differentials in status returns for equivalent educational attainments. On one hand ethnic discrimination in hiring practices may be charged. However, it may be that despite "successful" completion of equivalent grade levels (years), the available educational systems have prepared Mexican Americans less well than Anglos for occupational attainment (Venegas, 1973; Gordon et. al., 1968; Wright, et. al., 1973). Still, the issue of labor force discrimination is not easily discarded and the present findings would warrant further research in this area. Particularly noteworthy was the tendency for non-metropolitan Mexican Americans to receive high socioeconomic returns for educational achievements than did metropolitan Mexican Americans. Since many of today's urban Mexican Americans are relatively recent rural emigrants who are often better educated than their non-mobile former peers (Grebler, 1967), the lower socioeconomic benefits of education experienced by metropolitan as compared with non-metropolitan Mexican Americans indicates a lack of urban opportunities consistent with educational attainments.

Whether lower returns for educational achievements reflect inadequacies in the educational system or job market discrimination, ethnic occupational segregation remains extensive. Furthermore, the forces of such segregation cannot be over come simply by encouragement of continued schooling. If this ethnic group is to enter into full participation in United States society, institutional changes will be required in both the occupational and educational sectors.

Table 1: Occupational Percentage Distributions of Mexican American and Anglo Breadwinners by Residence

Occupation[a]		Non-metropolitan South Texas[b]		Corpus Christi SMSA[c]		El Paso SMSA[c]	
		Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo
Professions	%	7.6	5.6	4.5	15.4	8.3	21.7
Managers	%	8.0	27.8	5.7	18.7	4.6	22.4
Sales Workers	%	3.4	0.0	5.1	6.2	6.6	13.2
Clerical Workers	%	1.7	0.0	3.8	3.3	7.9	7.8
Crafts-persons	%	12.6	22.2	22.3	29.4	27.8	16.7
Operatives	%	8.8	11.1	14.6	10.4	12.4	3.9
Transportation Operatives	%	1.7	0.0	7.6	3.0	8.7	7.1
Laborers	%	31.5	16.7	17.8	4.2	13.3	2.1
Farmers and Farm Workers	%	18.5	11.1	5.7	5.0	2.5	0.7
Service Workers and Pri.House.	%	6.3	5.6	12.7	4.5	7.9	4.3
Total Valid Cases	N	258	19	161	370	248	355

a. Classification based on major Census categories. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of the Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation, Washington, D.C., 1972

b. Insufficient cases available for inter-ethnic comparisons using Chi Square.

c. Chi Square Statistic indicates statistically significant inter-ethnic, intra-residence differentials in occupational distributions. P≤.05

Table 2: Mean Duncan Socioeconomic Index Scores by Occupation, Ethnicity and Residence[a]

Occupation		Non-metropolitan South Texas[d]		Corpus Christi SMSA		El Paso SMSA	
		Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American.	Anglo
Professions	X	70.75	84.00	68.31	74.10	70.64	75.09
	SD	12.168	0.00	10.46	11.46	10.17	12.86
	N	17	1	7	52	20	61
Managers	X	63.58	53.18	58.75c	65.86c	65.67	65.66
	SD	8.70	14.35	9.76	8.17	4.74	7.54
	N	14	5	9	63	11	63
Sales Workers	X	48.49	-----	47.72	52.44	45.47	49.17
	SD	13.19	-----	12.11	12.04	11.56	18.25
	N	8	-----	8	21	16	37
Clerical Workers	X	47.95	-----	47.72	45.37	39.97c	45.40c
	SD	4.65	-----	7.80	3.68	11.58	6.94
	N	4	-----	6	11	19	23
Crafts-persons[b]	X	31.97	22.65	26.62c	34.46c	30.69	34.16
	SD	12.45	9.24	12.28	11.61	11.81	11.52
	N	25	4	35	99	67	44
Operatives[b]	X	19.65	19.20	19.35	18.75	19.77	19.79
	SD	1.57	0.00	3.09	2.64	2.31	2.51
	N	18	1	23	35	30	11
Transportation Operatives	X	17.32	-----	16.43c	21.46c	19.43	22.61
	SD	4.45	-----	2.70	8.21	7.70	9.35
	N	4	-----	12	10	21	20
Laborers	X	8.33	8.30	7.99	9.01	9.06	8.03
	SD	1.58	0.01	1.38	2.60	3.11	0.21
	N	72	3	28	14	32	6
Farmers and Farm Workers	X	11.46	21.15	9.53	16.97	6.30	10.15
	SD	4.63	21.00	5.15	10.36	0.01	5.44
	N	42	2	9	17	6	2
Service Workers and Pri.House.[b]	X	18.16	17.90	17.74	25.12	21.13	22.44
	SD	6.04	0.0	9.96	12.29	11.72	9.77
	N	14	1	19	15	19	11
Total Valid Cases	X	23.97	32.05	24.97c	43.50c	30.71c	50.81c
	SD	21.76	23.85	18.63	23.32	20.10	22.81
	N	218	17	156	337	241	277
Missing Cases:pair-wise deletion	N	2	1	1	0	0	4

a. Duncan Socioeconomic Index scores by 1970 Census specific occupational titles. Source: David L. Featherman, Michael Sobelm and David Dickens, A Manual for Coding Occupations and Industries into 1970-Basis Duncan Socioeconomic and NORC Prestige Scores. Working Paper No.75-1, Center for Demography and Ecology, The University of Wisconsin--Madison.

b. Breadwinners presently in Armed Forces (N=1) or with occupations listed as Former Member of Armed Forces (N=4) or Service Worker Allocated (N=2) deleted for lack of corresponding Duncan Socioeconomic Index Score.

c. Inter-ethnic, mean, socioeconomic differentials statistically significant. P≤.05.

d. Insufficient cases available for inter-ethnic, intra-situs comparisons.

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Table 3: Mean Years of Schooling Completed by Occupation, Ethnicity and Residence[a]

Occupation		Non-metropolitan South Texas[c]		Corpus Christi SMSA		El Paso SMSA	
		Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo
Professions	X	7.35	8.00	13.86	15.44	12.90b	15.67b
	SD	1.32	0.00	1.95	2.13	3.68	2.05
	N	17	1	7	52	20	61
Managers	X	6.00	6.60	9.78b	12.19b	11.64b	13.54b
	SD	2.39	2.51	3.46	3.19	3.80	2.42
	N	14	5	9	63	11	63
Sales Workers	X	5.25	-----	10.38b	12.76b	9.25b	12.95b
	SD	1.16	-----	2.26	2.05	4.39	1.91
	N	8	-----	8	21	16	37
Clerical Workers	X	6.25	-----	12.33	12.00	10.00b	12.91b
	SD	2.22	-----	0.52	[illegible]	2.52	1.97
	N	4	-----	5	11	19	22
Crafts-persons	X	3.96	4.50	5.46b	11.131b	8.12b	10.77b
	SD	1.71	3.32	4.35	2.61	3.70	2.85
	N	26	4	35	99	67	47
Operatives	X	4.47	5.00	8.44	10.31	7.20	9.55
	SD	2.59	4.24	4.07	3.12	4.09	3.70
	N	19	2	23	35	30	11
Transportation Operatives	X	4.25	-----	6.08	9.50	8.33b	10.60b
	SD	3.30	-----	3.63	4.09	3.60	2.33
	N	4	-----	12	10	21	20
Laborers	X	3.43	4.00	4.86b	9.14b	5.09b	10.33b
	SD	2.79	4.35	4.02	2.90	4.18	4.93
	N	72	3	28	14	32	6
Farmers and Farm Workers	X	3.64	9.00	3.89b	9.47b	2.83	10.50
	SD	2.49	0.00	2.03	5.30	4.66	6.36
	N	42	2	9	17	6	2
Service Workers and Pri.House.	X	4.00	5.00	6.70b	10.07b	8.58	9.08
	SD	2.88	0.00	4.57	2.07	4.02	3.75
	N	14	1	20	15	19	12
Total Valid Cases	X	4.26b	5.78b	7.04b	11.78b	8.31b	12.76b
	SD	2.68	3.08	4.52	3.39	4.36	3.23
	N	220	18	157	337	241	281

a. Specialized vocational training with high school graduation treated as equivalent to completion of one year of college.

b. Inter-ethnic, mean, educational differentials statistically significant. $P \leq .05$

c. Insufficient cases available for inter-ethnic, intra-occupation comparisons.

Table 4: Pearsonian r Correlation Coefficients and Regression Coefficients of Educational Attainments with Duncan Socioeconomic Index Scores, by Ethnicity and Residence

Pearsonian r	Non-Metropolitian South Texas		Corpus Christi SMSA		El Paso SMSA	
	Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo	Mexican American	Anglo
Pearsonian r	.405	.485	.546	.511	.549[a]	.648[a]
r^2	.164	.235	.298	.262	.302	.420
b	3.284	3.703	2.240[b]	3.516[b]	2.535[b]	4.687[b]
a-constant	9.966	11.134	9.199	2.087	9.656[b]	-9.186[b]
$P \leq$	.0001	.049	.0001	.0001	.0001	.0001
Total Valid Cases	218	17	156	337	241	277
Missing Cases: Pairwise Deletion	2	1	1	0	0	4

a. Pearsonian r values significantly different for Inter-ethnic. Intra-residence comparison. $P \leq .05$.

b. Analysis of Covariance indicates unstandardized coefficients significantly different for Inter-ethnic, Intra-residence comparison. $P \leq .05$.

ALIENATION AND POVERTY: A CASE STUDY*

M. E. Walker, Jr. and E. Y. Beauford

During the last thirty years, considerable effort and resources have been devoted to programs designed to improve the quality of life of families having long histories of impoverishment. While it is difficult to assess the impact of these programs on an individual's ability to advance beyond the poverty threshold, the use of income criteria reveal that some families have managed to break the cycle of poverty, while others having similar characteristics, resources, opportunities and environments have not. This phenomenon raises the following questions: (1) What are some of the basic factors influencing one's ability to escape the vicious cycle of poverty? (2) How do those persons escaping differ from those not escaping?

Obviously, the answers to these questions are difficult and multi-dimensional. No one or two factors could possibly explain such a complex phenomenon. It is argued, however, by the investigatiors that the individual's perceived control over his destiny plays a significant role in his ability to advance economically. The problem for research then is to determine some of the social-psychological characteristics that distinguish those persons having escaped the cycle of poverty from those who have not.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The primary theoretical framework used to investigate social-psychological influences upon one's ability to break the poverty cycle is one of alienation. Several writers have indicated that alienation is an important aspect of ghetto and lower-class life or that alienation is inversely related to economic status (Bald-

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win, 1963; Silberman, 1964; Coleman, 1964; and Middleton, 1963). Further, it is well documented that alienation is more prevalent among the poor (Lystad, 1972). However, the role that alienation plays in one's ability to advance economically is not so well established. While it is true that most alienation studies have, in the main, attempted to determine the location of individuals within the social structure and have done little to determine the effect or influence of alienation on the individual's position, there are findings which support the basic notion that "if a person feels he has real control over his destiny, he will be more willing to act and thus more likely to utilize available resources for personal advancement regardless of the form". Previous studies, for example, have suggested that more alienated persons are less likely to seek integration. Gore and Rotter (1963) found that students in a southern black college who held high perceived control over their fates were more willing to participate in civil rights activities. Bullough (1967) discovered that Blacks who had moved from the ghetto to a predominantly white suburban neighborhood were less alienated than similar Blacks who had not made the move. It was concluded that persons who had moved from the ghetto had done so through persistence, thus indicating that they felt they had control i.e., that outcome of their specific or planned action could be predicted. Weinstein and Gusel (1963) even used the anomia scale to predict families which would seek an integrated school for their children. Seeman (1962, 1963, 1966, and 1967) found that an alienated person not only feels powerless, but also is less able than the unalienated person to mobilize himself to manage his objective situation. McCann and Kim (1971) found a significant positive association between the level of occupational aspiration and occupational status. Rosen (1956) indicated that those who do not strive for success perceive the world as basically determined an unmanageable. Strodtbeck (1958) in a study of progressive or mobile Jews has shown that mobile Jews hold strong beliefs in the notion that "the world is orderly and amenable to rational mastery, and therefore, a person can and should make plans which control his destiny."

These results seem to indicate that an inverse relationship exists between alienation and a person's ability or willingness to act on his own behalf. Thus, it is argued here that alienation is not only a product of poverty, but that it takes on a circular characteristic and serves as a significant factor in perpetuating the cycle of poverty. The notion is centered around the assumptions that a person's behavior is a function of (1) the expected outcome of a particular action under given circumstances, and (2) the perceived value of the outcome to the individual (Rotter, 1962). The idea of external vs. internal control is of particular importance. This idea emphasizes the degree to which the individual attributes a successful outcome to external factors as opposed to the results of his personal efforts, skills and/or characteristics. If an individual feels that only external factors are at work, there is little need to act on his own behalf in an attempt to shape outcome.

HYPOTHESES

It is hypothesized that those persons who have broken the poverty cycle hold stronger perceived feelings of internal control than those who have not broken the cycle. The expected relationships between alienation and economic situation are as follows:

1. Persons who have broken the poverty cycle will be less alienated or will express a lesser degree of powerlessness than those who have not. In other words, there is an inverse relationship between economic situation and alienation.
2. This relationship will hold even when factors such as age, sex, race, and education, which are known to be related to alienation, are controlled.

METHOD

a. The Sampling Procedures

The data for this study were obtained through personal interviews from a stratified cross-sectional unrestricted sampling of heads of 943 families from nineteen Middle Georgia counties. The survey was taken during the Fall of 1974. Completed useable schedules were otained from 730 of these families or approximately 77 percent of those contacted. These families (heads) were stratified on the bases of their economic situation and the determined economic situation of the respondents' (heads') parents and grandparents, hereafter referred to as economic situation.[1] Four groups emerged: (1) The always affluent group included families who were currently out of poverty and where evidence existed that neither the parents nor grandparents of the household head (respondent) had ever in the past experienced poverty for any prolonged period. (2) The escaped poverty group included families who were currently out of poverty but evidence existed that both parents and grandparents of the respondent had experienced poverty for a prolonged period. (3) The became poverty group included families currently in poverty, but neither the parents nor grandparents of the respondent showed traces of poverty histories (families in this category are poor mainly as a result of old age or illiness). (4) The poverty cycle group included families currently in poverty and evidence existed that both the parents and grandparents of the respondent were also poverty stricken.

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[1] These groupings will be referred to as "economic situation" throughout this report since they are based solely upon level of income.

This analysis involves only two of these groups: (1) Escaped-Poverty and (2) Poverty-Cycle. The four divisions above were necessary since this study constitutes a part of a larger study designed to isolate poverty-cycle families and to identify factors which may serve to perpetuate the cycle of poverty among Middle Georgia families. General characteristics of the sample are: (1) rural - 63.85%, (2) female - 24.93%, (3) white - 54.11%, (4) below poverty level - 25.62%, (5) average age - 49, (6) average level of education - 8.2 years, and (7) farm families (USDA definition) - 9.73%.

In order to determine how representative the sample as a whole was, population estimates were constructed using information from the 1970 Census of Population. The sample was found to be highly representative of all heads of Middle Georgia families. It is therefore the opinion of the researchers that the sample is also representative of all characteristics of heads of Middle Georgia families.

b. Measurement

The study design requires the measurement of economic situation and alienation. The dependent variable is economic situation. Economic situation as used in this study reflects the status of the household head in relation to the status of the head's parents and grandparents, i.e., whether or not the head has advanced economically when compared to his parents and grandparents. If a household head was currently in poverty and had a history of poverty,[2] he was considered to be the head of a poverty cycle family which had not broken the cycle (hereafter referred to as "poverty cycle"). On the other hand, if a household head was currently out of poverty and had a history of poverty, he was considered to be the head of a family which had broken the poverty cycle (hereafter referred to as "escaped poverty"). A head was considered to be currently in poverty if his total income when adjusted for residence for family size fell below USDA poverty guidelines in effect in the Fall of 1974. Income estimates (as recalled by the respondent) of the parents and grandparents of the respondent were adjusted to reflect equivalent 1974 values and subjected to the same guidelines as the respondent's data. When income estimates for parents and/or grandparents of the respondent could not be recalled, type of employment was obtained and income estimates were assigned according to what a person performing that type of work could have been expected to receive at that time as determined from the best available statistics.

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[2] If both the parents and grandparents of the respondent were found to be poverty stricken, the head was considered to have a history of poverty and vice versa.

The measure of alienation used (the basic independent variable) is powerlessness. While the writers are aware that alienation taken on several dimensions (Seeman, 1959; Dean, 1961), the powerlessness dimension appears to be more appropriate for this study. Further, many writers concerned with the dimensionality of alienation suggest that powerlessness is the underlying factor common to all dimensions of alienation. Powerlessness will be determined by the scale developed during the course of this study. This scale was designed to capture the powerless and hopeless feelings of the people under study. The scales of Dean (1961), Seeman (1964), and other scales commonly used to measure powerlessness were not used here because it was determined by the investigators after preliminary pretest and analysis of the items, that these scale items were too abstract or too sophisticated to tap the feelings of the groups under study.[3] An attempt was made to select items which reflected events which the respondent had at least some knowledge of, could understand, and which the investigators felt would tap the expected feelings of a powerless individual: that is, "low expectancies for control of events," such as the lack of control over the political system, the industrial economy, and international affairs. The latter was difficult to obtain since the population we were studying evidenced little concern about control over or knowledge of, how the above mentioned systems influenced their positions. However, information was obtained which led us to believe that elements such as politics, luck, pessimism, disbelief in fellows, bewilderment, confusion, and hopelessness would come closer to drawing out the perceived control these persons felt they had over their lives. Accordingly, a battery of 22 items related to these elements was developed. Through pretest and preliminary screening, this number was reduced to 13. These items were then submitted to a sample of 44 Peach County household heads. The results were subjected to the factor analytical technique as well as the Guttman procedure. The final scale consisted of the following eight items:

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[3] Similar results have been reported by others studying alienation of low income persons (Howie and Hanna, 1976).

POWERLESSNESS SCALE

ITEMS	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
1. People always take advantage of you.	69.78	5.21	25.00
2. You can't get ahead anymore.	29.80	9.36	60.84
3. Many times I feel that it doesn't do any good to think about what to to do. You might just as well flip a coin.	30.24	13.58	56.17
4. The ordinary person has very little control over what a politician does in office.	57.25	8.80	33.95
5. Success is mostly a matter of getting good breaks.	51.23	12.50	36.27
6. You just have to accept things as they are.	44.10	4.50	51.40
7. One can't do anything about the future.	37.38	8.39	56.83
8. It makes little sense to go out and vote because the average man's vote doesn't count anyway.	24.07	5.25	70.68

A likely question at this point is: "Do these items form a valid scale?" There are several ways to determine the validity of a scale (McClasky and Schaar, 1965). One is face validity: Do the scale items appear to express the feelings and beliefs that comprise the powerless state of mind? We feel certain that these items pass this test, since they reflect the feelings of the study group. Further, the items were determined to reflect the state of mind of the study group by other persons at the Institution and in the surrounding communities, who had knowledge of the study population. A majority of the reviewers also felt that each of the items expressed some aspect of powerlessness.

Another way to determine scale validity is to subject it to the usual technical tests to determine unidemensionality, internal cohesion and stability. When subjected to the Guttman procedure, a coefficient of reproducibility of 0.84 was obtained. While this value is slightly lower than the 0.90 required, we assumed that the scale did achieve a satisfactory degree of internal cohesion and unidimensionality.[4] As for stability, a split-half reliability coefficient as corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula of 0.74 was obtained. While the scale developed is by no means perfect, it is the opinion of the writers that it is satisfactory for the type of exploratory study conducted here.

The Likert technique was used for scoring as follows: strongly agree (5 points), agree (4 points), undecided (3 points), disagree (2 points), and strongly disagree (1 point). The possible range of scores for the scale was from 8 to 40. A high score indicated high powerlessness and vice versa. Actual scores were divided into thirds to reflect respectively high, medium and low levels of powerlessness.

The test of the hypothesis was besed on chi-square (X^2), the Student-t, gamma(G) and Kendall's Tau(C).

FINDINGS

Results of the analysis are shown in Tables 1 and 2. The hypothesis that economic situation and alienation are inversely related is generally confirmed. The chi-square statistic is significant at the one percent level (Table 1) while the gamma(G) coefficient is -0.335. Comparison of mean scores (27.10 for poverty cycle and 24.96 for escaped poverty) utilizing the Student-t shows significant differences ($t=3.20$, $p<0.002$). Kendall's Tau(C) of -0.226 also indicate significant ($p<0.0001$) association between these variables.

Table 2 contains the same statistics with race, education, age and sex controlled. The relationship between alienation and economic situation (while still significant), is much stronger among whites (G=-0.516) than among blacks (G=-0.262). The relationship is similarly stronger at lower and higher levels of education, being significant for persons having 5 to 8 years of education.

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[4] This conclusion was reached since Guttman (1944) in his article, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data", expressed the low likelihood of a perfect scale. He stated, "in practice, 85 percent scales or better have been used as efficient approximations to perfect scales". Thus, 0.84 appears to be a fairly acceptable CR.

While statistically significant for all categories of age, it is clear that the relationship between economic situation and alienation is stronger for the category 35 to 54(G=-0.426). This relationship is also stronger for males(G=-0.421) and statistically insignificant for females.

Table 1. Relationship Between Powerless and Economic Situation (Figures expressed in percentages)

	Economic Situation		
Powerlessness	Poverty Cycle N=112	Escaped Poverty N=116	N
Low	24.1	41.4	75
Medium	27.7	28.4	64
High	48.2	30.2	89
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	228

$X^2=9.93$, df=2, p∠0.01, G=-0.335, C=-0.226, p∠.0001

While the results of this study tend to indicate that alienation influences a person's ability to break the poverty cycle, it is also clear that opportunity (race, age and sex) as well as available resources (education) influence one's ability to advance economically. Careful review of data in Table 3 clearly verifies this fact.

Table 3. Spearman Rank-Order Correlation Coefficients Showing the Relationship Among Economic Situation, Powerlessness, Race, Education, Age and Sex.

Variable	Economic Situation	Level of Significance
Powerlessness	-0.207	0.001
Race	0.4268	0.001
Education	0.3670	0.001
Age	-0.082	0.02
Sex	-0.1684	0.001

Table 2. Chi-square, Gamma and Kendall's Tau showing the relationship between economic situation and alienation when race, education, age and sex are controlled.

Control		Degrees of Freedom	X^2	Sig.	Gamma (G)	Kendall's Tau	Sig.
Race	Black	2	5.13	0.10	-0.262	-0.173	0.001
	White	2	6.43	0.05	-0.516	-0.301	0.001
Education	None	2	13.18	0.01	-0.358	-0.243	0.05
	1-4 yrs.	2	12.03	0.01	-0.563	-0.404	0.001
	5-8 yrs.	2	0.83	NS*	-0.034	-0.022	NS
	9 yrs. or more	2	8.72	0.02	-0.466	-0.274	0.002
Age	34 yrs.or less	2	7.64	0.05	-0.209	-0.144	NS
	35 to 54	2	6.58	0.05	-0.426	-0.282	0.001
	55 or more	2	6.96	0.05	-0.190	-0.124	0.05
Sex	Male	2	9.19	0.02	-0.421	-0.265	0.001
	Female	2	1.62	NS	-0.238	-0.131	0.05

*Not significant at the 0.10 level or less

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Among a sampling of heads of households of families from nineteen Middle Georgia counties, the hypothesis that persons having broken the poverty cycle are less alienated or hold fewer feelings of powerlessness than those persons who have not broken the cycle is generally supported. Nevertheless, the influence of race, education and sex upon one's ability to break the cycle of poverty is a factor which must be considered since the association between economic situation and alienation was considerably weaker and in some instances insignificant when these variables were controlled. While results of this study tend to indicate that a person's perceived control is related to his ability to advance, it is also clear that available opportunities (race, sex and age) and resources (education) continue to be important variables in effecting positive change in this regard.

These findings, i.e., the inverse relationship between alienation and economic situation, are consistent with other findings. A question that perhaps will come to mind, however, is probably the same one raised by the investigators throughout this analysis, that is: "Is alienation a result of economic status?" or conversely, "Does low economic status cause alienation?" In other words, are persons having escaped poverty less alienated as a result of their achievements or vice versa? In their study of anomia, Meier and Bell (1959) argued that when individuals lack assess to the means to achieve their life goals, anomia results. Thus, the high levels of powerlessness among the poverty cycle group may have resulted from their inabilities (lack of means) to advance or achieve. Others have also put forth similar arguments. However, the cause-effect relationship of this situation cannot be elucidated from the results of this analysis alone. All we have gained is knowledge of the covariation of economic situation and alienation. No causal relations have been established, only the possibility of the existence of causal relations. The writers are, nonetheless, putting forth the argument that while alienation is not the only factor influencing the cycle of poverty, it is a significant factor among a multiplicity of factors which must be reckoned with in any attempt to positively change the economic, educational and social conditions of the poor.

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DENIAL AND LABELING OF THE MENTAL DEVIANT
BY SOUTHERN FUNDAMENTALIST

by

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Denial and Labeling of the Mental Deviant by Southern Fundamentalist

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This paper investigates the process by which Southern Fundamentalists determine that a person is mentally ill. There are two major procedures involved in this determining process. First is the procedure by which the fundamentalist resist applying the mental illness label in spite of the deviant's display of bizarre behavior (denial). The second is the procedure by which the members of the community reach consensus that the deviant's behavior is in fact indicative of mental illness (labeling).

This paper is based on data collected during a descriptive study which I initiated as consultant to Georgia's mental health program. The purpose of the study was to clarify a major discrepancy between the theoretical formulation of labeling theory and research findings relating to the actual lableing process. Labeling theory credits societal lableing as the single most important cause for stabilized mental disorders. Thus, theory hypothesizes that if the societal response to bizarre behavior is that of denial rather than lableing, then the deviant will not assume a career of mental deviance and the deviant's display of bizarre behavior will be brought under control (Scheff, p. 51). In other words, the deviancy will be transitory if the societal response is that of denial rather than labeling. However, we find a great deal of research which suggests that denial doesn't result in the deviant's behavior becoming transitory.

First, I would like to briefly review the evidence which the labeling theorist present to support their hypothesis.

Glass observed that psychiatric casualities in combat situations generally do not become stabilized if they are kept with their units. However, soldiers who are removed to hospitals often become stabilized mental deviants (Glass: 1953).

A similar interpretation can be made by comparing the observations of childhood disorders among Mexican-Americans with those of "Anglo" children. Childhood disorders such as susto, (an illness believed to result from fright) sometimes have damaging outcomes in Mexican-American children. Yet the deviant behavior involved is very similar to that which seems to have a high incidence among Anglo children, with permanent impairment virtually never occuring. Apparently through cues from the elders, the Mexican-American child, behaving initially much like his Anglo counterpart, learns to enter the sick role and becomes a stabilized mental deviant (Scheff: 1966, p. 83).

Further evidence that societal denial results in the behavioral deviance being transitory is seen to be found in the discrepancy between the amount of treated prevalence of mental disorder and the amount of true prevalence found in the community. Pasamanick's Baltimore study found that for every person admitted to a psychiatric hospital there were approximately 20 untreated cases in the community. It is suggested by labeling theorists that the majority of these untreated cases will be transitory because they will not be seen as being mentally ill (Pasamanick: 1961).

There is at least an equal array of research evidence to support that deviants who were eventually labeled went for a prolonged length of time in which their behavior was denied. In other words, even prolonged periods of denial did not result in some mental deviant's behavior becoming transitory.

Shirley Star found that psychiatric patients displayed many behavioral signs, some of them alarmingly bizarre, for some time before admission to the hospital was decided upon.

A study of the pre-hospital career of patients in Milledgeville State Hospital in Georgia found that for 20% of the cases, the period between the first appearance of the symptoms extended for three to as long as thirteen years (Payne: 1967).

A study of lower class, white, fundamentalist patients in the same hospital in 1969 found that the behavior for which the patient was eventually hospitalized had been exhibited for two years, on the average, prior to commitment (Hodges: 1971).

One possible explanation can be offered for the research findings that prolonged periods of denial doesn't seem to result in the deviance being transitory. This explanation is that the community has recognized the behavior as being indicative of mental disorder, but they have not chosen to have the deviant committed. In other words, the process of denial is not actually functioning here, because the deviant has been labeled "mentally ill" and simply has not been sent to the hospital. But this explanation, however, is unsatisfactory. Research indicates that while the general public is extremely unclear concerning what constitutes mental illness, once they determine that a deviant is mentally ill, the deviant is almost immediately hospitalized. The Cummings' concluded in their study of public attitudes:

> Mental illness, it seems, is a condition which afflicts people who must go to a mental institution, but until they go almost anything they do is fairly normal (Cummings: 1957).

Therefore, labeling and commitment to mental health facilities are found to be highly correlated. The deviants who are eventually labeled are deviants which failed to respond to the denial process.

It is at the point at which the community ceases to deny the bizarre behavior and suddenly labels the deviant "mentally ill" that we find a scarcity of research. For example, we do not know why the community denies the deviant's behavior for such a prolonged period of time and then suddenly labels. We know that is happens but we do not know the mechanics of denial. We do not know how the public can label a mental deviant and at the same time be totally uninformed about mental illness behavior.

To answer these questions and to develop an understanding of other issues associated with the stabilization of mental illness, I undertook an indepth study of the beliefs about mental illness of white, lower-class fundamentalists. This population was selected because they composed the majority of the patients in Georgia's psychiatric hospitals.

Study Design

The study, conducted in Atlanta, Georgia, consisted of sixteen interviews with respondents who had never been psychiatric patients. They were of white, lower-class, fundamentalist background – ten males and six females, ranging in age from 20 to 62 years.

I began the study with a questionnaire developed by Charles Hudson consisting of questions on personal causation. These questions relate to the respondent's notions about "why things happen." I presented hypothetical cases to the respondents and asked them to explain why it had happened. The interview began with such questions as, "Why did Mr. Jones' business fail while Mr. Harris' did not?" and later moved to more focused questions such as, "Why did Mr. Bennett go crazy?"

Even though sixteen respondents were interviewed in all, it was only after about half of the interviews were completed that I began to see the systematic nature of their beliefs. I considered this part of the study complete when I got a grasp on the system of explanations to the extent that I could get agreement from the respondents on the characteristics of a "mentally ill" person. I conducted the interviews individually, each lasting an average of about three hours.

Findings

Even though other studies had failed to find the general public in possession of any great information about mental illness, I had hoped that by using a different research design and by interviewing in this distinctive community that I would find my informants in possession of more detailed knowledge. I had theorized that once their view of the characteristics of the mentally ill were delineated it would be comparitively easy to discover the objective traits of the mental deviant which this population considered in the labeling process. However, this was not to be the case. The following is the substance of the response to the questions concerning the characteristics of a mentally ill person.

The Characteristics of A Mentally Ill Person

Whatever a person was before he became mentally ill, after the onset of the illness the respondents described him as a person very different from normal persons. He cannot think clearly, and he is confused most of the time. He does not know why he acts the way he does; he frequently does things without meaning to do them. Whatever his mind was before he became ill, he now has a very weak mind and cannot make decisions. Nor does he have any willpower. He is to blame for his condition and, therefore he has made a failure of his life at some time prior to his becoming ill. In order to return to normal he will have to make some changes in his life and changes within himself. As long as the person is disturbed, he will be a problem to himself and to other people.

The description of the mentally ill person was quite subjective. My informants were able to cite few, if any observable traits, and most of the components they mentioned related to motives and personality traits which they inferred to exist within the mentally ill person. The problem remains that if all the components of the mental illness identity are not readily observable, then how do the Southern Fundamentalists know when a person is actually mentally ill? The answer would seem to lie in describing the mental deviant's behavior. If the respondents could describe mental illness behavior, then we could begin to understand how they determined when a person is mentally ill. But the respondents were, in fact, unable to answer any of my questions relating to the behavior of a mentally ill person. To the question, "How would you expect a mentally ill person to act?" and "What would you expect a mentally ill person to do?" the respondents would either say, "I don't know," or after a pause, state, "Why he would do anything that would com to his mind." The only clearcut statement of mentall illness behavior which the respondents could come up with was that a mentally ill person would *deny* that he was crazy. In their words, "If a person says that he is not crazy, you better watch him." With this one exception, I reached the same conclusion that Nunally reached, namely that the general public can not specify mental illness behavior (Nunally: 1961)!

Their inability to describe mental illness behavior seemed to be a result of their belief that a mentally ill person "would just do anything." The respondents would agree to any example of behavior I could come up with as being characteristic of a mentally ill person. However, these examples ranged from completely conforming behavior to completely deviant behavior; from sitting in their living room and carrying on an intelligent conversation to urinating on their living room carpet and running out in the street naked. I concluded, therefore, that mental illness behavior is characterized in fundamentalist beliefs as being unbounded and unspecifiable.

The findings that the respondents possessed a totally subjective model to characterize a mentally ill person and that they could *not* specify mental illness behavior is consistent with research findings in other areas of the country. Jun Nunally concluded in his study of popular conceptions of mental illness behavior they were totally uninformed about mental illness (Nunally: 1961). However, Nunally's conclusion concerning a general absence of knowledge about mental disorder was not supported by the present study. The absence of knowledge expressed by the fundamentalist informants was *not* randomly distributed when concerning the entire phenomena of mental disorder. For example, respondents were able to discuss at some length explanations for the cause of mental illness, preventative techniques; recommendations for treatment; and even different classifications of mental disorder. What then is the effect of the selective lack of information concerning the mental illness identity and mental illness behavior?

The major effect would unquestionably be to encourage the process of denial of the mental illness identity. The lack of behavioral prerequisites would make the entrance into the mental illness role vague and indistinct. Under such criteria, almost any behavior could be justified in terms of other role contingencies. For example, delusions, depressions and even hallucinations can all be defined as "normal" in terms of fundamentalist rethoric. Therefore, labeling will be postponed or avoided as long as the mental deviant possesses the verbal skills to justify his deviance, or more importantly, as long as the deviant possesses allies who postpone or interfere with others reaching concensus and labeling the mental deviant.

If the Southern fundamentalists do not have an objective method of determining when a person is mentally ill, then how are they able to label a person mentally ill? The answer seems to be that the label "mental illness" is reserved for those persons whose behavior cannot be explained by any other identity. The mental illness identity is a broad, general, and unformalized identity, a catch-all category for diverse behavior which is resorted to after attempts to place the person into other formalized categories have failed. This insight is at the core of understanding the "denial" reaction of this group when faced with the prospect of labeling one of its own members mentally ill. The person who is labeled "mentally ill" has displayed unorthodox behavior over a long period of time and has made the other formalized identities ascribed to him meaningless. A person is placed in such a category only by the process of exculsion.

There are two types of persons for whom the societal response of denial would not function. The first is the deviant who voluntarily accepts the mental illness identity. In a hospital study of first admission of Southern, white fundamentalists, I found that 30% of my sample fell into this classification. (The behavior most frequently displayed by this group of patients was depression. They were generally diagnosed as depressive neurotics.) The second type of deviant for whom the denial process doesn't seem to apply is the deviant without a social support structure. The denial process only functions to the degree to which others in the deviant's social field are willing to define his behavior in terms of other role contingencies. Examples of this kind of deviant would be transient or a person loosely integrated into society.

The denial process will continue for a deviant who possesses a social support structure until the symptomatic behavior is brought under some type of control, or until the mental deviant alienates his support.

I am not aware of any research currently being directed towards studying the mental deviant whose deviance was transitory. The researchers and the mental health professional only view the failures of the denial process. But the failures are of a sufficient magnitude to question the utility of the fundamentalist's folk psychology. Ninty-four (94%) percent of the first admissions to Georgia's State Hospital in 1963 were from a fundamentalist, lower-class background. Why were such a large number of patients from this background hospitalized? Why didn't the denial process result in the deviant's behavior being transitory? The study shed some light on this.

Stabilization:

An important observation made during this study was that the system of explanation is constructed in such a manner that once a mental deviant is labeled, he cannot prove he is sane. For example, if a person were labeled "mentally ill" by a Fundamentalist community, there would seem to be several ways the labeled person could prove the label wrong. First, it would seem possible to prove to his friends that he was not crazy by participating only in conforming behavior and by not displaying mental illness behavior. But there is no possible way for him to do this because the system of explanation does not include specific behavior. A mentally ill person is described as "doing anything which would come to his mind," and this includes participation in conforming behavior for extended periods of time. Second, the possibility would seem to exist that the labeled person could convince his close associates or loved ones that the system of explanation is wrong by insisting that, "I am not this! I do have problems, but I am not what you say crazy is." But the system has a subtle non-correcting argument built in. Rather than force a re-evaluation of tha accuracy of the stereotype, this folk psychology holds that this very denial of the identity is proof that the labeled person is mentally ill.

While the lack of specification of mental illness behavior and the subjective description of the mental illness identity may function to promote denial, these same elements guard against disproof once the mental illness label is applied. A large proportion of the deviants admitted to the state hospital from the fundamentalist community seem to be caught in this bind. Forty percent (40%) of first admission to the state hospital rejected the mental illness identity and argued that their hospital admission was a mistake.

Another aspect of the beliefs of the fundamentalists may result in stabilization. The study found that by practicing the recommendations by which a deviant was supporsed to effect a change in his behavior, may, in fact, rasult in more deviant behavior. To the question, "What can you do to keep from becoming mentally ill?" the respondents possessed only two explicit techniques: (1) practice moderation (i.e., avoid extremes in one's personality and behavior); (2) and avoid "thinking bad thoughts." It is interesting to note that the latter technique encourages a person to do exactly what the psychotherapist usually cautions against, i.e., blocking unpleasant thoughts.

The practice of such a "therapy" may lead to further loss of self control and further depression.

This conservative folk psychology functions to protect the group by supplying a method of bringing unconventional behavior and even unorthodox thoughts into the group's view of social respectability. This is through stressing the practice of moderation and blocking of bad thoughts. This concern is also reflected in the respondents' insistence on placing the blame or fault squarely on the shoulders of the mental deviant. The recommended way of life is conformity to the rules of the Fundamentalist subgroup, and this conformity to the rules is stressed over any personal effort to make a reconciliation between individual feelings and social conditions.

Conclusions

This study has shed some light on the relationship between denial, labeling and the stabilization of mental deviance. The labeled deviant is caught in a structural bind and is unable to disprove the label once it is applied. The lack of clearly defined mental illness behavior and the subjective nature of the mental illness identity result in built in guards against disproof. The labeled deviants' insistence that he is not "crazy" is seen as a hallmark of his disorder and so he is caught with his anger, frustrations and suspicion in a situation which can only result in more of the same. Before labeling occurs, the mental deviant cannot effect a change in his behavior because following the "cure" recommended by their folk psychology will probably produce more of the same behavior.

The tolerance implied by the denial process is not an unconditional tolerance. The tolerance pervails as long as the deviant can maintain an accepting audience. When the question concerning the sanity of anyone in the fundamentalist community is raised and the deviant has no allies to defend him, then it is unlikely that he can resist labeling. This interpretation implies that labeling is not a "cause" for stabilized mental disorder anymore than a high reading on a thermometer is the "cause" of a fever. The act of labeling is simple a reading on a social thermometer that the deviant's human relationships are fouled up. This analysis suggests that the concern of the mental health therapist should be directed at rearranging the human relationships around the labeled deviant rather than, as labeling theory recommends, attempting to prevent labeling.

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POLICY PROCESSES AND APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE

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The social sciences constitute a prominent feature of contemporary Western thought. A driving force in their development has been the hope that practical directives for guiding a wide-range of human affairs would emerge. Once such knowledge gained currency, the years of effort to forward these intellectual and political agendas would be vindicated.

Envisioned as applied sociology is a body of scientifically arrived principles of group life, usually still in the process of formation, capable of guiding the fortunes of community life.[1] It is a particularly intriguing and strategic system of ideas because of the prominence accorded it in the United States during the past decade. Numerous governmental programs to increase general welfare and social justice assumed the existence of such knowledge[2] or, as in the case of Public Law 91-190--the National Environmental Protection Act of 1969 (NEPA), promoted it along with other applied social sciences in an envisioned interdisciplinary effort. In what appears to be very explicit language, Section 102 of NEPA (1969) states:

> . . . (A)ll agencies of the Federal Government shall--
> (A) utilize a systematic, interdisciplinary approach which will insure the integrated use of the natural and social sciences and the environmental design arts in planning and in decision making which have an impact on man's environment (and) (B) identify and develop methods and procedures . . . which will insure that presently unquantified environmental amenties and values may be given appropriate consideration in decision making along with economic and technical considerations.

The applied sociology undertaken in conjunction with NEPA constitutes a history of neglect. It is however, not unique to sociology. This was demonstrated in a most spectacular fashion in the impact analysis and decision-making associated with the Trans-Alaskan pipeline project (Carter, 1976). This does not mitigate the results or lack of results associated with possible sociological contributions. A recent investigation into the social impact portions of a random sample of environmental impact statements, mandated by NEPA, revealed: no explicit inter-disciplinary connections, few directions having bearing on decision making; a general lack of informing sociological theory; and a vast majority of cases in which no explicit sociological research method was stated (Cain, 1974; Wilke and Cain, 1976).

Numerous reasons can be offered for this state of affairs: the lack of professional sociological input (ibid.); the lack of development of such efforts (Goodale and Ditton, 1972; Wolfe, 1976); and the automaton-like characteristics exhibited by government bureaucracy which easily thwart the noblest of agendas (Capener, 1973; Warner, 1973). None of these, however, confront the fact that in spite of questionable performance, applied sociological efforts have multiplied, often in areas which seemingly work at cross-purposes. Applied sociology cannot, therefore, be viewed as a unitary formulation; it is a multiplicity of formulations which gain significance by virtue of the context in which applied efforts are found. A preliminary recognition of this point is made by Wolf (1976) who distinguishes anticipatory research from evaluation research: the former exampled by environmental impact statements attempts a prognosis of future courses of events while the latter diagnose program efficacy. However, this distinction does not go far enough to highlight the various contexts in the policy process of state societies.

Policy Process in the State Society

A fundamental difficulty in assessing particular efforts in applied sociology derives from the lack of a clear understanding of the nature of the policy process (Wilke, 1976; Wilke and Cain, 1976)--the multiplicity of functionally disparate activities related to administrative agencies--in state societies. This is because the law, the vehicle by which competing interests are mediated is not, apparently, well understood by researchers working in policy areas.

In state societies, the law frequently becomes the vehicle for redress and the pursuit of interests. For outsiders whose interest is usually narrowed to a limited issue, much incentive can be generated by the promise of new laws. This was the case of many in the Ecology Movement prior to the enactment of NEPA. Once in place, however, such law may go far to introduce what Edelman (1964) has identified as "political quiencence:" complacency regarding an issue. This can become a modern day version of the old saw of the squeaking wheel getting the grease, with the added possibility that instead of grease being applied tight reins are used to halt the cart's movement, and like grease, curtailing the squeaks. Indications of this circumstance occuring once a law is in place can be the lack of additional funding for enforcement, the high likelihood of a judicial ruling overturning the enabling legislation or the simple refusal by those so empowered to enforce the law.

If the legal and administrative stature of a law such as NEPA is upheld, this does not necessarily translate into sweeping reform. Now administrative procedures and the policy process come into play. New agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency or new tasks for old agencies are forwarded. Meanwhile age old hazards remain: political favoritism, fiscal constraints, customary procedures (e.g. "red tape"), and unique administrative and judicial challenges. It is at this stage applied research, including that of a sociological character, can be encountered, heralding successive types of such research.

Types of Applied Research

Four types of readily identifiable applied research are: policy-making research, policy-implementation research, policy compliance research and policy assessment or evaluation research. Policy-making research deals with what policy should be, what is to be the settled course of action. Applied sociology, like many applied fields, can provide possible inclusions for consideration, but is seldom if ever a sole determiner. Applied research efforts may have a more direct impact in policy-making when agency personnel appeal to it to provide direction or purpose to a particular operation or use it to give added legitimacy to certain operations. Requests for policy-making research are frequently encountered when new mandates are given or when a significant turnover in personnel is encountered, both circumstances in which usual direction for explicitly goal oriented conduct is missing.

The second type of applied research is policy-implementation research. It emerges from a charter, such as the passage of a law, which specifies in directives that social science knowledge shall be used in creating guidelines. Section 102 of Public Law 91-190, NEPA, cited above seems to express such an intent. However, because charters are frequently forged is political compromise, an ambiguous sitation emerges. In the case of NEPA, environmentalists and applied researchers, among others likely to benefit from the legislation took Section 102 to be obligatory, reflecting what they maintained was the true intent or spirit of the law. Of course there has long been conflicts over the spirit and the obligatory "letter" of the law. But in the case of NEPA, the spirit of the law was expressed in compromise, a point forcefully stated by Russell Train. Appearing before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Environmental Pollution (1974) on April 10, 1974, Train, Administrator of the overseeing agency of NEPA--the Environmental Protection Agency, maintained that the provisions of Section 102 were advisory, not obligatory. To clinch his case he referenced the apparently often overlooked Section 104 of NEPA which states:

> Nothing in Section 102 or 103 shall in anyway affect the specific statutory obligations of any federal agency (1) to comply with criteria or standards of environmental quality, (2) to coordinate or consult with any other Federal or State agency, or (3) to act,

> or refrain from acting contingent upon the recommendations or certification of any other Federal or State Agency (National Environmental Policy Act of 1969).

The episode with Train and NEPA highlights the often tentative nature of agency operations and the precarious position of applied research in implementing policy. Even where specific directives are given for research by agencies, contract provisions and the general opaque character of the decision-making process mute (especially in public agencies) possible contributions. Applied efforts serve to meet the "letter" of the law and in some instances spawn new interest groupings.[3]

Once policy has been more or less established, a third type of applied research, policy compliance research, may be witnessed if provisions for applied research are mandatory as is the case with NEPA. Frequently, because such research is pro forma, revealing little in terms of critical, disciplined effort (Cain, 1974; Carter, 1976; Wilke and Cain, 1976). It is in this area of applied research, at least in sociological circles, that much concern is expressed, in part because of the nature of the research and in part because this type of research, over any other, is a most dependable source of employment for applied-oriented social scientists. When one considers that thousands of environmental impact statements have been filed, more or less in compliance with NEPA provisions (Cain, 1974), this becomes an arena of importance.

From the experiences under NEPA, it is apparent that policy research development, even though mandated, is a minor dimension of policy compliance research. A recent examination of the social input protions of environmental impact statement filed under the provisions of NEPA revealed no efforts to comply with Section 102B and develop methods and procedures to which would give consideration to unquantified environmental amenities (Cain, 1974).

Concerns for policy research development get entertained in discussions dealing with a fourth, functionally specific type of applied research, policy assessment or evaluation research. Often spurred by legitimacy challenging concerns, interest forcusses on how well an agency is doing its job. This combines some of the same dimensions of policy-making research with new critical or accountability concerns. Because of concerns such as accountability, applied efforts are often likely to pose the threat of delegitimizing an agency. As a result, researchers attempting to make policy compliance research can easily promote nonsubstantive critiques. For example, when 150 conferees gathered in 1972 at an Environmental Protection Agency's (1972) symposium on the quality of life, there was some unease over the state of environmental impact research. In an effort to counter the concerns, the conferees were polled as to their choices for a normative list of quality of life indicators. The result was the Quality of Life Factor List,[4] consisting of items somewhat different than the Selected Indicators of Quality (Cain, 1974),[5] a checklist used by numerous Federal agencies to guage the social environment. When Cain (1974) examined the content of impact statements, he found, as might be expected, that the latter items were more prominent in filed impact statements than the former. However, when he attempted to codify these systems of assessment based on existing statements, he found no discriminating difference between the two models. In short, policy assessment concerns directed at policy compliance research were not more critical nor insightful, only different.

Discussion

Applied sociological research is a multi-faced phenomenon. It is conditioned largely by the context in which it is found. Though not a startling discovery, the resulting types of research described highlight the contradictory and conflicting dimensions of the policy process. It is unlikely that revelations of this sort shall dissuade those promoting particular programs of social transformation via the policy process nor those wedded to the dreams of the future glory of applied research. Nevertheless, a resulting sensitivity may provide a means to analyze the changing features of a large and growing system of social affairs. Meanwhile, applied social scientists, especially sociologists, may be forced to come to more critical terms with political and legal conditions which are now largely either obscured or ignored. While this may not result in a greater realization of applied research goals, it may provide for some expanded and obtrusive probes by applied researchers into such affairs, thereby resulting in greater illumination of these particular recesses in community affairs.

NOTES

1. Criticisms regarding the validity of applied sociology are not critical to this essay. Such concerns, as students of self-fulfilling prophecies and the roles of social ideas (e.g. Parsons, 1954: 21; Eriksson, 1975) can attest, ignore the various types of ideas (e.g., imaginative, existential, and normative) and confuse the reflective processes of validity from reality. According to an established canon of thought a particular behavior or profession can be considered invalid, but this does not detract from the reality of its existence.

2. Many of the War on Poverty programs were based on treating social science findings regarding inequality as not only diagnostic, but as prescriptive. For example, sociolization experiences which did not net success in certain commanding institutions (e.g. education) could be compensated for. Our concern here is not to question the merits or demerits of such formulations

but point out only that, possibly inevitably, extra-sociological concerns played a dominant role in transforming and eventually challenging such programs. Nevertheless, applied sociological concerns could be witnessed throughout the protracted conflict serving, as it were, conflicting interests.

3. Wilke's (1976) case study of a state Public Service Commission's use of consultants for this purpose is an illustrative example. Often such consultants, fired by the noblest of virtuous concerns, face the reality of political decision-making. Dreams become translated into the hope that such efforts will have at least residual benefits in setting procedence for future assessments of agency performance. Such claims seem to overstate a reliance on precedence in non-judicial settings as well as ignore the ubiquitous political nature of public administrative organizations.

4. The EPA conferees listed the following indicators: safety, education, health, public participation, privacy, primary social relationships, secondary social relationships, culture, national security, democratic process, personal skills, uses of free time, choices of life, status, equality, and social stability.

5. The currently employed list includes the following indicators: transportation accessibility, income, air quality, housing and neighborhood, public participation, education, health, unemployment, community concern, poverty, law enforcement/public order, mental health, special disintegration, and racial equality.

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TOWARD A POLICY RELEVANT RURAL SOCIOLOGY
A RUDIMENTARY FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION RESEARCH

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Introduction

Probably the most accepted model of scientific behavior for sociology is that of the natural sciences (Durkheim, 1938; Hinkle and Hinkle, 1954; Lastrucci, 1963; MacRae, 1971; Smith and Zopf, 1970). It nurtures visions of general theories lending themselves to verification through reproducible observations. Moreover, it is assumed that if sociologists commit themselves to such a model, useful application of fundamental scientific knowledge will follow as a natural corollary (MacRae, 1971; Williams, 1946). Scott and Shore explicate the assumption:

> . . . Any significant addition to our stock of social scientific knowledge, as long as it is based on solid research, will ultimately be useful to policy makers in enabling them to understand their alternatives more clearly, to formulate better or more rational policies, and to evaluate consequences of their decisions more clearly. (Scott and Shore, 1974:52)

The above model of science combined with the assumption of its unambiguous translation to policy have worked to set parameters for "acceptable" sociological research. Recently both the model and the assumption have been questioned (Gouldner, 1956; MacRae, 1970; Phillips, 1973; Scott and Shore, 1974). Socially useful research, policy relevant and applied, is virtually nonexistent in sociology. Boulding so acknowledges: "The practical research in social systems which is necessary at all levels of decision-making, both public and private, is simply not being done" (Boulding, 1966:105-106). Coleman is more pointed: "Social scientists have yet to learn how to . . . (bring) their disciplinary knowledge and skills to bear on matters of interest to the real world outside the discipline" (Coleman, 1972:22). The situation in rural sociology seems little better (Bealer, 1975; Capener, 1975; Nolan, et al., 1975; Stokes and Miller, 1975). Nolan and Galliher posit that, in fact, "most rural sociological research is so trivial from a social policy perspective that an analysis of its impact would be meaningless" (Nolan and Galliher, 1973: 491). The case may be overstated, but is hard to refute. The impact of most research has been so trivial that rural sociology has escaped the condemnation of those most critical of land grant college research. But, as Nolan and Galliher (1973) acknowledge, being spared such wrath is perhaps the more devastating commentary.[1]

The situation of limited relevance is unacceptable for sociology in general and for rural sociology in particular. It is at odds with the recent (and historical) interpretation of the most appropriate role for the rural sociologist (Loomis and Loomis, 1967; Bealer, 1969; Ford, 1973). "If there is anything that has set the Rural Sociological Society apart from organizations of other sociologists, it has been the deeply ingrained belief that sociology should be applied to the basic problems of rural society" (Ford, 1972:2). However, belief is not necessarily coincident with action. There can be a gap. The lacuna between the professed intent to conduct relevant applied research and the conversion of that intent into effective action is ample (Nolan, et al., 1975; Stokes and Miller, 1975). The lack of successful conversion has made the belief appear, "more a myth than a credo" (Ford, 1972:2).

The deficit of useful research has resulted in a vocal re-query: sociology for what? An answer, crosscutting many fields, has been the recent profusion of literature concerned with "social indicators." In this literature, one finds at least some persons who assume that social research can be used as an input into the larger process of making enlightened decisions about social policy. The position is explicit. Regardless of the substance of the policy problem, some relevant information via systematic investigation is better than no information. In short, when policy action is contemplated, an appeal to sentiment, intuition, and in some cases dogma, is not enough. Pertinent information relating to the validity of the assumptions involved should be considered.

The above paragraph discounts a purely positivist orientation to research. It recognizes the inevitability of the situational determination of problems. Similarly, problem focus and perception of possible solutions are recognized as socially determined. However, the assertions or intuitions as to problem solutions are by no means necessarily valid. This being the case, they should not be taken at face value. An examination of the empirical evidence for or against any particular idea system is called for. To perform such an examination, it is necessary to employ some analytical scheme. The scheme chosen should provide a basis for setting forth the presuppositions of interest and testing their consistency where possible with empirical observation.[2] In other words, the scheme should allow formulation of the problem in such a way that relational statements can potentially be controverted by evidence. The remainder of this paper is concerned with developing a conceptual scheme that is particularly appropriate for policy or action oriented research.

A Model for Policy Research

A model designed to produce usable data could take an infinite number of forms. The form would depend primarily upon the intended use of the data. Similarly, it could use as its underpinning any number of presuppositions. The model presented below results from a synthesis of the assumptions or guiding principles of (1) what constitutes policy and the policy research process; and (2) what is involved in social indicator research. The two, in combination, produce a framework that allows for insight into the nature or types of data needed for policy research, how they should be collected (e.g., one point in time or at a sequence of points), and how they should be analyzed.

Social Indicators and Social Policy

The newly expanded interest and activity in social indicator research is a step forward in the endeavor to produce usable data. But, there is no one perspective or orientation to social indicator research. As a result of this heterogeneity, concerted effort becomes a problem. In what direction should the concerted effort be directed? Various orientations to research in the field reflect possible answers to the question. Several perspectives that have emerged include the following:

1. Social indicators are seen as tools for detecting quality of life change in various levels of society. This view is reflected in the writings of Becker and de Brigard (1970), Harland (1971), and Jones and Flax (1970).

2. Social indicators are viewed as a monitoring device to help assess progress toward specified societal goals. The majority of federal government publications tend in this direction, e.g., Toward a Social Report (1969) and Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality (1970).

3. Social indicators are taken as simple time series social statistics. This view has gained support from such organizations as the United Nations Research Staff (1966) and from individual efforts such as those of Daniel Tunstall (1970) in his paper, "Developing a Social Statistics Publication."

Perspectives 1, 2, and 3 can be described as numbers games orientations. In the final accounting, what is produced is little more than a series of numbers describing current conditions and recent trends. Reliable information of this type is useful, even essential, if effective social planning is to become a reality. "But by themselves they tell us nothing about the nature and strength of the causal forces operating in the social system" (Madden, 1972:14). The data are not included in a relational model or framework. Such a model is necessary for policy planning. It allows for choice of alternative strategies for planning (Brooks, 1971).

A fourth orientation moves in the desired direction. It views social indicators as social statistics but goes considerably further. It states that the statistics must estimate changes in variables which are integral parts of a social system model. This perspective is ultimately concerned with cause-effect relationships and at the very least with interrelationships between and changing values of variables through time (Land, 1970, 1971; Warren, 1970, 1970b; Wilcox and Brooks, 1971). This approach is the more useful for policy research.

Although divergent orientations to social indicator research can be identified, consensus is evident in several respects (Sheldon and Freeman, 1970):

(1) Time series data are necessary to allow for comparisons over time, and

(2) Disaggregation (or cross-classification) of the statistics by germane characteristics should be possible.

Land (1971) has pointed out that these two attributes of social indicators lack restrictive characteristics which would distinguish them from any other social statistics, "It would be preferable," Land states, "to have a definition that would facilitate a resolution of the proper functions of social indicators with respect to social accounting and social reporting" (Land, 1971:323). He further argues that the classification criterion of a social indicator is its, "informative value" (Land, 1971:323). In making such a claim, it is purported that a social indicator refers to social statistics with the following discernible characteristics:

(1) They are integral parts of a social system model or of some subdivision of that model.

(2) The statistic can be amassed into time series, thus allowing for comparative and trend analysis.

(3) The statistic is subject to model specific aggregation and/or disaggregation.

A social system model in the above context refers to social process conceptualization where the model is formulated by any of a variety of methods. The methods could include verbal, logical, or mathematical formulations.

The definition of a social indicator set forth by Land is adaptable to research A more important question, however, must be addressed. If the definition proposed by Land is used to guide research, will be results be consistent with the needs of public policy? The question cannot be answered until the meaning of public policy and policy process are clarified. The following section addresses these issues.

Policy is not an easy concept to define. Schorn (1968) has written an entire book entitled Explorations in Social Policy without defining policy. Stein and Miller (1973) do little better by suggesting that policy is something directed at amelioration or solution of social problems. Ranney (1968) goes to more lengths to define his terms. Policy, states Ranney, is a term employed, "to refer to whatever is being done by some actor in a broad area of activity" (Ranney, 1968:26). For purposes of mapping out and executing research, the definition has little worth. To delimit a referent would help, e.g., American policy on drafting men into military service. But a specific referent is not enough. There is a need to know, broadly, what is involved. Ranney recognized the need. Consequently, he goes on to elucidate the main components of, "any kind of policy toward anything by any actor" (Ranney, 1968:26).[3] Public policy is one special case. Briefly, the elements of public policy are:

1. A specified object or set of objects. This can be anything from a segment of some population to some aspect of the environment. The point is that the actor has a "target" he intends to affect.

2. A specified sequence of behavior in the target objects. This is the course of events coveted by the actor.[4]

3. An action strategy specifically chosen by the actor to induce the desired course of events.

4. A statement made by the actor (either covertly to a select few or overtly to all who will listen) as to, "what they intend to have done, how, and why" (Ranney, 1968:26). This is nothing less than a full declaration of intent.

5. Action or implementation of intent. This would include any and all strategies used by the actor to bring about the desired course of events.

The main components of policy outlined above include elements of content and process. Still, it is possible to focus on certain aspects of a whole at any given time. By abstracting content from process and focusing on the former, Ranney is able to define policy content as, "a stream of activities flowing from the authorities in a system that set the goals toward which the energies and resources of the system might be directed" (Ranney, 1968:27).[5] Within this broad stream of activities, policy process can be conceived of as those, "actions and interactions which produce the authorities' ultimate choice of a particular policy content over its rivals" (Ranney, 1968:27). The formal policy process includes such elements as:

(1) Gathering information germane to goal setting and/or resolution of conflicting values;

(2) Recommending how the set of goals should be ordered and what actions are most practicable for reaching the goals as arranged;

(3) Application of the strategy developed in number 2 to a given set of circumstances;

(4) Evaluation of the effectiveness and costs (to include social costs) of the programs prescribed and implemented; and

(5) Abandonment or alteration of the strategies originally prescribed.

While Ranney (1968) makes a meaningful distinction between policy content and policy process, Brewster (1970) has carried the analysis of policy the needed extra step in terms of policy research. Namely, he examines the policy research process in relation to the larger policy making process.

Just as policy process is a subset of policy content, the policy research process lies within the larger policy making process. Brewster summarizes the distinction as follows: "As scientists--as analysts--as technicians--men are concerned only with what will happen if such and such is done; not with whether such and such ought to be done" (Brewster, 1970:211). In other words, the concern of the researcher should be "with effective means of attaining ends, but not with choosing the ends to be attained" (Brewster, 1970:211). But, the resolution of research (if-then) problems is a much needed aid to the resolution of policy problems. In the absence of research findings, those with the responsibility of making policy, i.e., deciding what ought to be done, "have little to guide them except the fervor of up-in-the-air doctrines that are full of heat but no light" (Brewster, 1970:215).

The above conception of policy research seems to lie somewhere between Etzioni' (1971) definition of policy research and applied research. It would encompass all those activities Etzioni attributes to policy research with one exception. It does not concern itself with goal setting. Viewed in this way, the definition is closely akin to Madden's (1972) definition of initiatory policy research. As Madden suggests, "Initiatory policy research must include rigorous articulation and testing of the underlying causal models, not just casual formulation of social prescriptions" (Madden, 1972:4). At some point, intuition is obliged to trial by data.

The above discussions of social indicator research and policy research have enumerated the elements necessary for development of a general policy research model. From the general discussion, two pivotal precepts relating closely to the development of a policy research model can be extracted. First is the idea of a social indicator being a social statistic with certain characteristics. Specifically, they should be time series statistics subject to model specific aggregation or disaggregation. More importantly, they should be integral parts of a social system model. The second issue involves the coneption of what is involved in the policy process. The major components of the general process include acquiring information germane to goal setting and recommending appropriate actions for reaching the goals. Additionally, the process includes actual application of the chosen strategy, evaluation of the effectiveness, and abandonment or alteration of the chosen strategy when necessary. The policy research process was then delimited to focus on the "if-thens" of the larger policy process.

Given the aforementioned tenets, it is possible to develop a general research model that is consistent with policy needs. The basic ingredients of such a model would include at a minimum:

(1) A target or outcome variable measured at different times (at least twice) during a specified time period.

(2) A policy malleable variable (or set of variables) designated as a probable causal agent affecting the target objective over time.

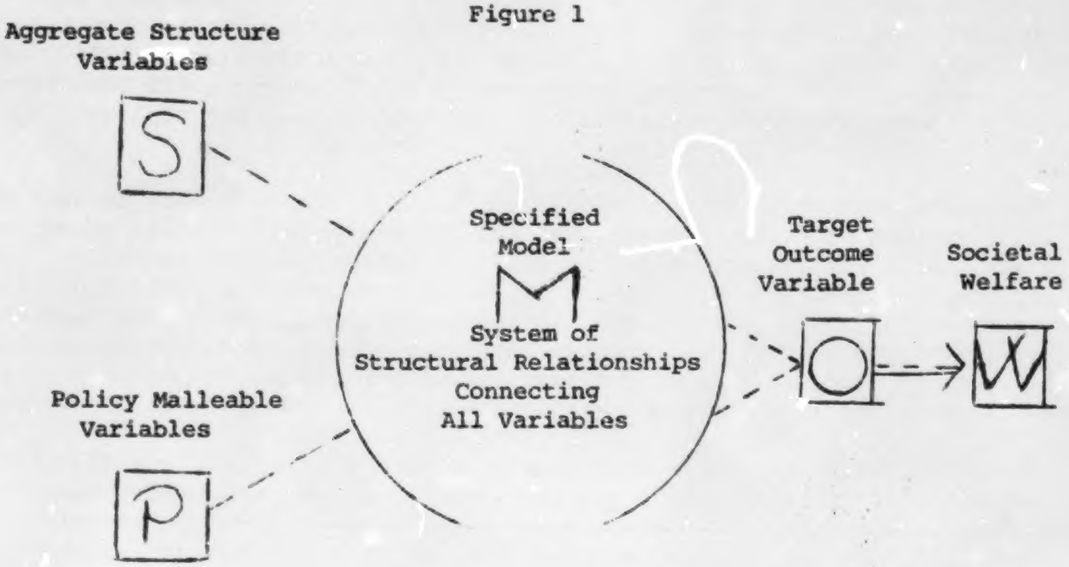
(3) A set of aggregate and structural variables measuring important (i.e., important to the particular policy problem) aspects of germane systems or subsystems. These variables must be included explicitly in the model.[6]

Finally, it is necessary to have:

(4) A set of parameters relating the above three categories of indicators. For example, $0 = f(P,S)$. Given the emphasis on time series data, a more useful example would be $0_{it} = f(P_{j,T-c}, S_{k,T-c})$ where $c = 0, 1, 2 \ldots$ indicating present and antecedent time periods.

A formulation that is perhaps even more useful would look at changes in outcome as a function of changes in policy variables and structural variables: $\Delta O = f(\Delta P, \Delta S)$. The logical structure of such a policy model would take the form illustrated in Figure 1.[7]

Figure 1


Aggregate Structure Variables
S
Specified Model
M
System of Structural Relationships Connecting All Variables
Target Outcome Variable
O
Societal Welfare
W
Policy Malleable Variables
P

Where: - - - - - - - Represents a causal connection (with a possible time lag in influence)

- - - - - - - Implied but unanalyzed influence either immediate or with a lag

The actual model (M) of relational propositions may take a number of different forms as discussed below. The actual model specified will depend on the causal theory postulated by the researcher. The nature of the causal theory is oftentimes assumed, implicitly or explicitly, by the way the particular policy has been formulated. In other words, the specific model will vary depending upon what the more general policy model purports to explain.

Specific Model Form and Implications for Policy

As evidenced by the general form of the model in Figure 1, primary concern is focused on describing sundry (desired) positions of a social system or subsystem and estimating the capability of diverse sets of discretionary projects (using any available resource, public or private) to pilot the germane system to such positions. Performance of the system is dependent upon two general categories of factor those that are controlled (policy variables) and those that are uncontrolled. At best one could try to predict what values the uncontrolled variables will assume during the germane time period. This will then give an indication of what value the target will achieve given no change in policy. More important are the policy variables or instruments. Such variables can be used explicitly for influencing target variables in the "desired" direction. These variables should obviously be considered in conjunction with the non-malleable variables. As Fox (1974:122) notes "To use these instruments with confidence, the policy maker (or at least the adviser should know the net effect of a unit change in each instrument on each of the goals or target variables." The basic problem is to develop a set of structural relation between all three types of variables in such a way that a "realistic" model of the subsystem of concern has been represented.

Given an adequate model, the final policy problem is to manipulate or use the policy variable in such a way as to realize established goals or target values in spite of the values assumed by (i.e., disturbances arising from) noncontrollable factors. In short, the problem is one of setting up an equation system designed to answer two basic questions:

(1) Given a set of known or forecasted values of the malleable and nonmalleable variables, what values of the target variables can you expect?

(2) Given desired values of the target variables in conjunction with the predicted values on the noncontrollable factors, what values or "settings" of the policy variables are necessary to realize the desired target values?

The first question can be answered by the conventional procedure of estimating a vector of structural coefficients. The procedure is simply one of estimating the value of the dependent or target variable from observed values of the independent variables (i.e., policy variables and the structural variables). The vector of structural coefficients (B_j) can be determined through the use of ordinary least squares as $B_j = (R_{ij}^{-1})(R_{yj})$ where R_{ij} is a matrix of independent variable correlations and R_{yj} is a vector of correlations between the independent variables and the dependent variable. The estimated B values, then, give information concerning (1) the relative strength of the association between the target variable and the sundry independent variables, and (2) the amount of change in the target variable that could be expected as a result of a one-unit change in an independent variable.[8]

While the procedure just described is fairly common in sociology, i.e., path modeling is a technical example, the more important concern is probably with the second question mentioned above. Given desired values of the target variable and predicted or observed values of the non-malleable variables, what alterations in the values of the policy malleable variables are needed to realize the desired ends? Originally the model in Figure 1 was specified by the equation system: Optimize $W = A'O + B'P$.[9] However, as just alluded to, the policy problem more realistically focuses on the vector of policy malleable variables p. As a result, the important solution would be: $B_p = A_o - C_s$. As Fox (1974) points out, the unique solution for the vector of p instruments is: $P = (B^{-1}A)\,O - (B^{-1}C)S$ (i.e., premultiply both sides by B^{-1}).

Policy Implications of Model Form

As evidenced by the above equation, the manner in which O (the desired values of the target or outcome variable) affects P (the needed value of the policy malleable variables) is partially dependent upon the structure of the matrices B and A. Different structures have very different practical (as well as methodological) consequences for the policy maker. As Fox (1974) notes, the structure of the matrices can assume one of four primary forms:

1. Both B and A can be diagonal. The implications of this structure are far reaching. The most important implication is one of not worrying about coordinating different activities. Coordination is unnecessary since no simultaneity

is present in the relationship between the targets and the policy variables. There is a one-to-one correspondence between a particular target (O) and the single instrument (P) by which the target could be affected.

2. Both B and A can be triangular. This form produces the familiar recursive model. In other words, given the two vectors P and O, P_1 will depend only on O_1 and other data S. P_2 will depend on O_1, O_2 and S, etc. The model allows for the conventional tool of ordinary least squares to be used for statistical estimation. Additionally, the structure has practical (substantive) policy implications. In essence, any unique equation, i.e., $P_1 = f(O_1)$ or $P_2 = f(O_1, O_2)$, could be given over to a specific work group for investigation. The people in each group would be under no constraint to consider the policy variables selected for use by another group below their position. Development of optimal policy would only require consideration of what was happening with a policy group above your own in the hierarchial system of equations. Additionally, a recursive model (or variates thereof) will "permit a complete unidirectional interpretation of the effects of changes in any given variable (endogenous or exogenous) on the whole system"(Fox and Thorbeck, 1965:62).

3. It is often the case that some (perhaps many) of the elements in B and A are zero. This structure results not in a strictly diagonal but rather a quasi or block-diagonal matrix. In short, each matrix embodies square submatrices. These submatrices can be arranged to form blocks on the principal diagonal. The off-diagonal elements will then be zero. If the actual matrices were so structured, the policy implication is one of being able to decompose the total model into sundry independent submodels. The number of such submodels would be dictated by the number of blocks in the matrices. It is obvious that the ability to dissect a full model in such a fashion would lend itself well to problems of decentralization in decision making.

4. The last form to be discussed is one in which the matrices B and A are quasi or block-triangular. When the matrices are triangular with respect to submatrices, the model is equivalent to that described in the sociological literature as being block-recursive (Fisher, 1971; Sullivan, 1971, 1974). The logic for and implications of using this model form are the same as that of the strictly triangular except that concern is focused on sets of instruments. Hence, a block or set of instruments can be solved for in the absence of knowledge about other variables belonging to blocks lower in the hierarchy. Stepwise dependent planning would be a natural outcome of such a modeling endeavor.

Summary

Demerath, et al., (1975:xiii) suggest that any well grounded alliance between social policy and the social sciences is, "an idea that may pass sociology by unless the discipline responds more promptly and effectively." Rural sociology should be at the forefront of such endeavors. Empirically, that does not seem to have been the case (Nolan, et al., 1975; Stokes and Miller, 1975). As Nolan, et al. (1975) conclude, an open, expressed willingness to draw policy implications or to do explicitly relevant research has not been demonstrated by rural sociologists to date. The reason, suggests Nolan, et al., (1975:446), is that rural sociologists, "lack a clear vision of what policy research ought to look like." The intent of this paper has been to provide an explicit starting place for constructing such a picture. Specifically, an analytical framework was presented that had as its philosophical base a "guide to action" (Coleman, 1972:2). The model was developed from a synthesis of the assumptions of (1) what constitutes policy and the policy research process, and (2) what should be involved in social indicator research. The model was deemed to include four fundamental aspects: a target or outcome variable measured at different times; a policy malleable variable (or set of variables) designated as probable causal agents affecting the target objective over time; a set of structural constraint variables measuring important aspects of germane systems or sub-systems; and a set of parameters relating the above three categories of variables. The nature of the relationships, i.e., dependencies, varies according to the structure of the various matrices, i.e., diagonal, triangular, block-diagonal or block-triangular, The sundry forms provide for very different policy implications as explicated above.

While the model is not conceptually closed, it is a starting place in the overdue move toward an "applied" rural sociology. What remains is the application of the general model to timely policy problems.

Footnotes

1. Jim Hightower's recent book, Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times, (1972) is perhaps the most widely publicized work of this nature.

2. As Merton notes, the acceptance or rejection of any concept or idea system, "is not determined merely by their objective validity but also by their consistency with other prevailing beliefs" (Merton, 1973:24). When the empirical observations are not consistent with supersensory intuitions, some conclusion must still be reached. The policy researcher must believe that in the face of such inconsistency, empirical observation will win out.

3. Actor should be interpreted in the general sense to include such things as groups, organizations, states, etc., as well as persons. Actor is equivalent to policy maker in the present context.

4. It should be realized that a "desired course of events" is a relative phrase. What is desired by an actor is contingent upon the value and belief system of that particular actor.

5. This definition of policy content is adapted by Ranney (1968) from Easten's (1965) concept of political output.

6. The inclusion of a variable as policy malleable (P) or data (S) is arbitrary. A policy manipulatable variable in one instance may be a "data" variable in another. As Madden (1972) has pointed out, the length of the planning horizon and the perspective of the analysis may dictate which category is appropriate for a specific variable. The classification is subject to change.

7. The model is a modification of Tinbergen's theory of economic policy. The original model drawn by Fox (found in Fox, Senyupta, and Thorbecke, The Theory of Quantitative Economic Policy) included one additional set of variables, namely those "side-effects" variables that result from a change in the policy variables or the structural variables but are irrelevant to the particular policy question under investigation. Madden (1972) further modified, i.e., enlarged, the model to include values and institutions. The inclusion of such dimensions is no doubt necessary for a model to be "logically closed." But the interest in this paper is with constructing a general model for policy research that includes only the minimum basic ingredients. Such a model actually applied to a policy problem seems a necessary forerunner to construction of a more elaborate framework.

8. If B is estimated as $B_j = R^{-1}_{ij} R_{yj}$, the measurement unit in both variables has been standardized, i.e., the unit is a standard deviation unit.

9. As Fox (1974) points out, the model is so specified if:

   (1) you assume linearity

   (2) under the conditions $A_o = B_p + C_s$

   (3) $o \min \leq o \leq o \max$
   $p \min \leq p \leq p \max$ (boundary conditions)

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PERCEPTION AND USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL DATA IN POLICY DECISIONS: THE CASE OF THE KENTUCKY BOTTLE BILL*

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PURPOSE

This paper has three objectives: (1) to chronicle the use of public opinion data by a Kentucky Legislative committee which was holding hearings on whether or not to let the complete legislative house vote on a bill restricting the sale of soft drinks and beer to returnable bottles and cans in Kentucky, (2) to summarize the major problems a research team faced in doing applied sociological analysis and communicating the findings to persons in decision-making positions, and (3) to suggest implications of doing applied work for the discipline of sociology.

Only in recent years have a few sociologists attempted to communicate and interpret the results of their research for persons involved in action, extension or legislative organizations. Much of the reason for this awakening of sociologists to the need for interpretation and communication can be traced to the decline in federal funding sources and clamoring by the tax paying public as to exactly what sort of return they are getting on dollars spent on educational institutions. It has definitely been a push proposition. Sociologists are being forced to answer questions about the usefulness of their discipline. When posed with the question, "What does a Sociologist do?" we often respond with a long lecture, rather than a concise statement of our research goals. However, willingness to communicate findings to persons outside ones' discipline does not imply or in any way mean that the people outside the discipline will use the findings or indeed even want to hear about them, or for that matter interpret and apply them correctly. The last mouthful of a sentence describes the concerned sociologist's dilemma.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The "Kentucky Goals Study," like many of its forerunners around the country, was a deliberate attempt by the principal investigators to provide interpretation of sociological data for direct input into the public decision making process. Not only were examples of problem areas used in our questionnaire from other states, but repeated input was sought from state, municipal and county officials plus extension and extension related organizations. We presented a list of community problem issue areas to these people and asked for their additions and deletions. In addition to receiving many valuable items, we obtained support and created some anticipation for the findings. While we hoped that our sociological colleagues would look with favor upon our work, we anticipated publishing only interpretative sociology for an informed non-professional audience.

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Two sources of data used for presentation and interpretation in this paper are: 1) the public documentation of events as appeared in state newspapers, on the television and radio, and 2) the conversations that the two principal investigators and their research workers had with members of the legislature, state cabinet officials and members of the press.

The vehicle for providing information to the Kentucky legislature and the interested public was a 12-page tabloid which was widely distributed throughout the state (Warner, et al., 1975). Since publication over 15 months ago, many reports and articles have appeared from data reported in that newspaper. Of the information in that tabloid, this paper is concerned with but one question, namely how the sample responded to questions relating to use of returnable bottles and cans. This concern was one of 15 environmentally related items, each of which could be answered either yes or no. For details regarding data collection, sampling, and representativeness, please refer to the bibliography (Warner, et al., 1975).

THE HISTORY OF THE KENTUCKY BOTTLE BILL

Based on the recommendations by the Interim Legislative Research Committee the Legislative Research Commission, which is the research arm of the State Legislature, prepared Senate Bill 59 for the 1976 legislative session. The provisions of the Bill provided that all beverage containers sold in the state be of the returnable nature and carry a refund of 2¢ for beer and 5¢ for pop. Aluminum cans would require a 5¢ deposit. In addition, the Bill provided that no detachable openers be used. The recommended alternative was the push tab model now used in several western states. The Bill was filed in the summer with little public notice at a time prior to our conducting the state-wide issues study.

The eleventh item on the questionnaire asked the respondent's willingness to, "Use returnable bottles instead of throw-away bottles and cans." Ninety-seven percent of the respondents answered yes to this question. The fourteenth item on the list was: "Save cans and bottles for recycling." Ninety-one percent said yes to this item. There was little variation by such background characteristics as education, income, residence, or employment status. The confidence limits for the Kentucky sample were 1.69% at the 95% level. That means that if this study were done 100 times, 95 times the percent favoring returnable bottles and cans would be between 95.3% and 98.7%. [illegible] results of the study were first made public on December 1, 1975 at Kentucky Dam Village State Park. Two pages of the newspaper were devoted to reporting energy and environmental issues.

The day after or on December 2nd, the information from the study on the percentage of the population willing to use returnable bottles instead of throw-away bottles and cans appeared in the major newspapers throughout the state. A chronology of the major events leading up to the deposition of the Bill is as follows:

December 2, 1975 - The Louisville Courier-Journal, the newspaper with the largest circulation in the state reported the information as follows:

> We quote: Use of returnable bottles and cans is Kentuckians' favorite way to save energy, according to a public opinion survey reported here (Kentucky Dam Village) to state legislators, of 3,248 persons replying to a questionnaire mailed to a state-wide

> sample by University of Kentucky researchers, 97% checked that they would be willing to use returnable bottles instead of throw-away bottles and cans.

The reporter went on to say:

> A Bill to ban use of throw-aways was beaten soundly in the 1974 session after being opposed by a coalition of business and labor lobbyists. The Bill might be offered again in the 1976 session.

The reporter did not know that the bill had already been filed.

December 2, 1975. The Kentucky Edition of the Cincinnati Inquirer.
The article began by saying, "Kentuckians favor the Equal Rights Amendment and would do away with non-returnable containers in the interest of Energy Conservation." Later on in the article, it repeats the findings that 97% said they could accept doing away with non-returnable containers. Articles similar to this appeared in all daily and weekly newspapers throughout the state and most of the T.V. stations devoted a portion of the evening news to our presentation.

December 7, 1975. (Sunday after the public presentation on Monday), the lead editorial of the Sunday Courier-Journal and Times was titled, "Polls Help Locate the 'Real' Majority." The article also references a telephone survey done by the University of Louisville's Urban Studies Institute of five specific legislative issues which at that time were before the Kentucky General Assembly. The article reads as follows:

> Surveys of public opinion conducted by the University of Kentucky and the University of Louisville, have given members of the Kentucky General Assembly a tool that should be of great value in carrying out their duties during the 60-day session that begins in January.
>
> The polls, presented during the pre-legislative conference last week at Kentucky Dam Village State Park, gave the legislators the views of a randomly selected sample of the Kentucky population on a wide range of issues the General Assembly will face.
>
> The results, which were mildly surprising on some questions and fairly predictable on others, obviously are not intended to tell legislators how to vote on any given issue. A legislator must decide such questions after more detailed study of the issues than the average citizen has the interest or opportunity to make. But even though a legislator is by definition something of an expert on public opinion, it still is easy for him to mistake vocal minorities for majorities, especially on issues that have high emotional content.
>
> A case in point is the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, which was approved by the Kentucky legislature in 1972. Since then, a noisy campaign has been waged to rescind that approval. But the UK poll shows 71% of the public favoring the amendment, while the U of L poll, using a different technique, shows slightly more than 69% in favor. (Confidence limits, discussed earlier, could easily account for the two percentage points in difference--author's comment). A legislator still may be philosophically opposed to ERA, but it's doubtful now that he will see much profit in demagoguery on the issue.

> But the most important indication of why scientific polling is a valuable tool came in another finding of the UK poll. The poll showed that Kentucky citizens view as the state's most important problem not public safety, not education, not jobs, and not the environment, but that of governmental responsiveness to the people. (The CBS study of sample precincts at the time of the November election showed government citizen relations to be the number one concern among the voters--author's comment.) This indicates as nothing else could that public officials either have not gauged public opinion accurately in the past, or have not given it the consideration that might be expected in a democratic society.
>
> That view is reinforced by various other findings of the polls. Measures that have overwhelming public support, such as equalizing the spending power of Kentucky's school districts, have languished for years. A bill to get rid of throw away bottles and cans was killed by special interests during the 1974 legislative session, but the UK poll found that 97% of Kentuckians would be willing to switch to returnable containers.
>
> If the legislators hope to restore themselves and other public institutions to the kind of esteem they should enjoy, these polls offer useful guidance on a place to start.

January 6, 1976, about the time the legislature began the 1976 session, the following feature appeared in the Courier-Journal. The Headlines of the story read as follows, "Will bottle, land-use bills out strip mining in 1975."

> Strip mining is being upstaged this coming legislative session by two other environmental issues that lurked in the wings during the 1974 session of the Kentucky General Assembly.
>
> The pair of bills consider land-use planning and beverage-container controls. Insiders at the Capitol see both bills in minor roles at this point, but both having the potential to appear on center stage as much as issues of abortion, women's rights, busing or education...
>
> ... Only two states--Oregon and Vermont--have passed bottle bills that discourage flip-top cans and require deposits on beverage containers.
>
> In Kentucky, supporters of both land-use planning and bottle legislation concede that their political base is small. They assess their chances of successful passage of bills as slim at this point.
>
> Two new factors, however, will be at work in the 1976 session that were absent in 1974. One is the imminent formation of a statewide environmental organization which has land-use planning and beverage-container control as its main concerns. The other factor is the pre-filing of the bills with accompanying documentation by the staff of the Legislative Research Commission (LRC)...
>
> Supporters of beverage-container control see an outside chance of forcing the issue out of committee for the first time because of two new developments.

One is a recent poll conducted by University of Kentucky sociologists who found that 97% of those interviewed favor using returnable bottles instead of throw-away bottles and cans. This is significantly higher than nationwide surveys indicating majorities of 70% to 87% in favor of returnable bottles.

Second, a massive year-old study on the impact of litter was conducted by Dr. John P. Nelson of the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission.

Nelson concluded that a container refund law would reduce Kentucky's litter problem, decrease sanitary land-fill costs, save energy and increase the number of jobs in the state.

Next, the bottle bill was assigned to a committee along with the report by the Legislative Research Committee (LRC). The Bill languished in committee a month before it was finally scheduled for public hearing on the 19th of February.

On January 25, 1976, the first of three important stories appeared in the Courier-Journal, titled, "Kentucky Needs the Bottle Bill" and was written by John L. Herrman, Chariman of the Greater Louisville Regional Group of the Sierra Club. In the commentary, he refutes each of six points which are commonly made by the bottle industry in opposing the Bill. For purposes of analyzing the input of survey data into public decision-making, his sixth point is of interest here. According to the bottle and beverage industry:

> This bill (for returnable bottles and cans) would result in an unacceptable loss of convenience for the consumer. There is no doubt that a result of this bill would be a loss in convenience in that if the consumer did not want to lose his investment in the container he would have to return it for a refund. That this is an acceptable inconvenience to a vast majority of Kentuckians is indicated by a University of Kentucky survey reported in December of 1975 that showed that 97% of those asked are willing to use returnable bottles instead of throwaway bottles and cans as an energy saving measure.

The following week, February 5, 1976, in the same part of the Editorial page, an article appeared entitled, "An Oregon Type Container Law Won't Eliminate Kentucky's Litter," by James T. Corey of Louisville, who is an attorney representing the United States Brewers Association. His arguments against the proposed bottle bill center around increased costs, fewer jobs, loss of profits and the inconvenience to the consumer. However, even the opposition can find utility in survey data. And we quote:

> In urging passage of SB 59, its proponents cite a public opinion survey on energy savings made by two University of Kentucky sociologists. The poll sampled one-tenth of one percent of the state's population. The best test of public opinion is in the voting booth. Eight times out of 8 in the last 5 years voters have rejected restrictive container laws in referendums. Here's the tally:

Location	Date	Opposed	Favored
Washington (state)	11/70	52	48
Juneau, Alaska	10/71	68	32
Bridgeton, Maine	5/73	59	41
Coon Rapids, Minn	5/74	64	36
Crystal, Minn	11/74	55	45
Dade County, Fla	11/74	58	42
Ypsilanti, Mich	4/75	65	35
Eau Claire, Wisc	10/75	69	31

While most non-sociologists would recognize that Coon Rapids, Minnesota is not representative of the adult population of the U. S., these same people unquestionably accept voters as a valid sample of the adult population. In a later portion of this paper we point out why users of applied sociological research must be made aware that voters are different than the general adult public.

February 16, 1976, just 3 days before the public hearing by the Senate Committee, the Courier-Journal devoted a major editorial to the bill, under the headline, "The Public Can Rescue the Bottle Bill." The content of the editorial is devoted to the way container companies and the brewers with support from organized labor were able to distort statistical data, use selective information and rely on innuendo in their opposition to the bill. However, public opinion polls are again cited as useful in making decisions about the "Bottle Bill" as evidenced by this reference to an Oregon Study quoted in the Courier-Journal editorial:

> Consumers in Oregon know of the Minimum Deposit law and approve of it overwhelmingly. Four out of five interviewed had heard of the law, and half could recall some specific provisions--86% of those named litter reduction, pollution control or recycling as objectives of the law. Of those interviewed in September 1973, 91% were in favor of the law and only 5% disapproved. When asked about their personal habits for beverage containers, 90% indicated that they throw none away--all are either returned or recycled. That seems to be borne out by the return rates experienced by bottlers and brewers: over 95% for soft drinks, and approximately 85% for beer.
>
> The report also found that more than 80% of those interviewed found it no inconvenience to return empty containers, or were willing to put up with the inconvenience if it helped to reduce litter. (The convenience argument is very important for audiences specifically concerned with the bottle bill.) Over 80% also indicated a willingness to pay slightly higher prices for beer and soft drinks in order to reduce littering.

The report is strikingly similar to the result of a University of Kentucky public opinion survey last year that found 97% of interviewed Kentuckians willing to use returnable containers instead of throwaway cans and bottles.

February 19, 1976 was the date of the public hearing. During the hearings, data from the University of Kentucky and public opinion polls in general was cited three times.

The first was by a representative of Falls City Brewery (Louisville) which said that if the studies show such overwhelming support, then why don't consumers actually use returnable bottles and not pick the non-returnables. Why is there a discrepancy between what people do and what people say? (This same person went on to cite a University of Illinois study which showed that it cost more to wash bottles than to make them. What the study actually found was that making the glass bottle was more expensive than the metal can, but the glass bottle could be reused, thereby decreasing per unit use costs.)

The second time was by the proponents when they stated that several polls have been done, one by the University of Kentucky, which showed that 97% of the persons in the state supported returnable bottles and cans. Somebody on the committee then said, "I am curious about that question and the results. Do you know how that question was phrased in the poll--the exact way it was phrased?" The phrasing of the question was then read by somebody from the audience. The person that made the presentation did not have the information available.

The third and last reference was made by the proponents when they posed the question: "Why are restrictive container laws repeatedly beaten in general referenda. Their answer is that opponents are well financed and supported by the bottle industry." The spokesman went on to say, "A case in point is the State of Washington whose polls showed that until three weeks before the election, 80% of the population favored a bottle bill. Then the opposition organized a counter attack spending about 2 million dollars as opposed to the proponents who spent 6,000 dollars. The container law was defeated 51-49% and again this was in contravention to 80% of the customers just three weeks before the election." (The last sentences are quotes from the proponent of the bottle bill.)

After taking the public testimony, the committee met the following week and voted 4-2 to table the bill.

In an article in the Courier-Journal on February 27, 1976, the sponsor of the bill argued that the entire Senate should vote on the bill. His approach was supported by another proponent of the bill, who said, "The public is overwhelming in support of this bill," said Hughes, citing a University of Kentucky poll that showed that 97% of those interviewed favored the concept.

So ends the 1976 bottle bill in Kentucky and the chronicle of use of public opinion data in its attempted passage.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATING APPLIED SOCIOLOGICAL FINDINGS TO LAY AUDIENCES

The questions that were directed to us in both public appearances and private conversations is summarized under the following topics: (1) the attempt to discredit our findings through faulting the methodology, (2)the inability to distinguish between good and bad data, (3) understanding the difference between voters and non-voters, (4) the reporting of sociological data by the press, (5) the question of opinion versus behavior and (6) finally, in explaining why legislators in their private polls come up with different results than discovered by the University.

1. ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT THE FINDINGS

When Paul Warner and I began making public presentations about our data we hoped that most of the questions and discussion would focus on the findings, i.e., what respondents perceived as major community issues and spending priorities plus the environmental and legislative issues. Instead, the first inquires were usually an attempt to discredit our methodology. Most of the questions and criticism centered on the following topics:

A. Samll Sample Size - Lay audiences have no idea what is meant by sampling and probabilities and do not understand that interviews with 30 carefully chosen people are as statistically acceptable as 300 interviews. The problem of small size is difficult to rationalize in a public meeting when the local legislator personally knows the opinions of more people than you have in your study. In a partial attempt to overcome the sample size problem, we purposely over sampled in sparsely populated areas of the state. In addition, we point out that our sample size of 3,300 is for Kentucky, whereas the Gallup and other nation-wide polls use about 1,500 persons.

B. Data Interpretation - A majority of legislators in this country are lawyers and use courtroom tactics to discredit scientific findings. Sociologists are taught that nothing we discover is fact, therefore we qualify all our findings. The best way to discredit an entire report or testimony is to cast doubt on one part. A misplaced number, faulty interpretation, and composition mistakes may be enough to destroy not only the creditability of the document but the reputation of the author. The usual tact in a large gathering is for the person to ask a very detailed non-significant question which may require a lengthy technical answer. In addition to having to recall all the details, you must verbalize a plausible answer. You will probably lose your audience if you have not developed the skill of dispensing with such bothersome questions quickly.

C. Innuendo or Guilt by Association - Social scientists do not share the same public creditability as physical and biological scientists, and every politician is by self-definition an expert on human behavior. These are two of the reasons that innuendo is so difficult to counter. You have heard public persons say to the effect, "You can't believe the polls," or "They didn't word the questions correctly," or "You really can't believe those professors, look at all the times they have been wrong." These are all statements that discredit good scientific work, and seldom can be answered briefly. The only way to counter this innuendo is to immediately answer the statement with positive examples of what has worked. Unfortunately, instead of taking the initative, the thoughtful scientist tends to focus on the exceptions to which the questioner allegedly refers.

2. DISTINGUISHING GOOD AND BAD RESEARCH

Unlike the academic that critically reviews each facet of the research process, the practitioner or decision-maker cannot separate good research from bad, nor are they able to make reasonable judgements about the interpretation of findings. A slick back publication with fancy diagrams, back up by "can't miss" recommendations will win out over carefully prepared integrative and dull research reports. The problem then becomes one of which finding should one believe.

Getting across the message that sociologists have a perspective as well as a methodology to contribute to public decision-making is difficult because it requires the communication of such attributes as objectivity, a longitudinal perspective, and the understanding of human institutions. The development of good explanations of sociological data requires a combination of good insight into statistical procedures, an ability to interpret and reconstruct historical events, an understanding of the biases in data collection procedures and above all the ability to formulate logical-deductive solutions. We have no good answer to this dilemma except that sociologists must demonstrate through repeated involvement that they can make a contribution to public decision-making.

3. UNDERSTANDING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VOTERS AND NON-VOTERS

We found widespread acceptance among legislators of the notion that the general adult population is the same as the adult voting population. Unfortunately, for the development of public policy, nothing is further from the truth. "Voters are simply not people." As a greater percentage of the eligible population votes (55% in the recent election) they become more representative. However, in non-presidential, state, primary and local elections, voters are increasingly less representative of the adult population. Voters in contrast to the general adult population tend to be older, more likely to be female, white, have lived in the area more than five years, married or widowed, with no children present in the household, and representing farming, retail and wholesale trades and business in general. In addition, persons that vote are likely to be from small towns and cities or live on farms and more likely to be property owners.

When the networks pointed out that 55% of the eligible persons voted in the last election, they were talking about the total voting age adult population--not registered voters. In presidential election years you tend to get a better representation of the national adult population--they are less likely to reflect the characteristics outlined above. In other elction periods, the profile of voters less accurately reflects the general population.

4. THE PRESS AND REPORTING PUBLIC OPINION DATA

We found most reporters to be much fairer in their treatment of the results of our research studies than the audience for which the findings were intended. Perhaps the newspaper format helped, but what we wrote was quoted or paraphrased very closely. The reporters seemed conscientious, and interested in the issues. One of the Lexington papers clipped sections of our newspaper format and published it under their headline. In many cases the reporters pointed out the source of money that supported the research. However, the underlying tone of the reporters was one of general skepticism of public opinion data. They also tended as a group to be cynical of the political process.

5. THE QUESTION OF OPINION VERSUS BEHAVIOR

Apparently, the question of will people do what they say they will do is debated by people outside of sociology and social-psychology. Many persons in the audience ask, "How do you know that people will support a list of issues, return the bottles, turn down the heat, or work actively to get more citizen involvement, if you only have the answer on a questionnaire?" Our answer to date has been that the only evidence we have is that people tend to have a collection of attitudes which predisposes them to act in a certain manner. These attitudes and values generally produce systematic responses to specific questions. We are also forced to admit that the research directed at congruence between attitudes and behavior is minimal.

6. EVALUATING DIFFERENT FORMS OF PUBLIC INPUT

Legislators questioned us several times as to why their studies (which generally were mailed questionnaires to registered voters) produced quite different results than ours. Generally, the issue in question was the Equal Rights Amendment, where our study and the one from the University of Louisville, showed large support and studies by legislators showed small majorities against. Without insinuating that they were not qualified to do public opinion research and interpretation, we suggested some of the following explanations:

A. The response rates to the legislator studies were generally low (20%) which suggests that the returns might be treated more as letters to a Congressman.

B. We pointed out that because voters are different than the general adult population, such a limited return would be even less representative.

C. In public opinion polling, the more issues or topics included on a questionnaire, the more accurate picture you will get of public opinion. People behave according to general priorities in their lives. What may be important to one person, may be unimportant to the next person. When you confront a large sample of people with a lot of problems or issues, you get an emerging picture of priorities, rather than a mere reaction to an isolated issue. This is why when people see returnable bottles and cans on a questionnaire, they think okay, I will do it, because it seems reasonable and is not too inconvenient. But when you have a media blitz and link the use of returnable bottles to jobs, loss of tax revenue, ghost towns and sanitation, people are going to act differently and maybe vote it down. We might suggest the hypothesis, that one of the reasons the bottle bill failed narrowly in generally liberal Massachusetts was the association with the gun control bill which failed.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE APPLIED SOCIOLOGIST

The discussion to this point has focused on communication problems which may sound much like a variation on the basic communication model taught in the introductory speech courses. Social scientists in the area of communication theory have developed numerous variables to explain why some messages are successfully received and others are not. In this case we have two sets of actors which have not been able to communicate. We are reminded of the bundle with many dangling strings, which one do we pull first to start explaining the use of sociological data in public decision-making.

Some suggestions based on work by the authors are as follows:

1. We must rethink our method of interpretation of findings to not only include the basic hypothesis that guides sociological inquiry, but to develop similar interpretations that bear on practical problems. For example, if we find that older persons are more concerned about health delivery and not about crime, why did they respond this way and what are the implications?

2. The most important rule in developing a successful applied research program is to involve the target audience in a meaningful way in the research process from the beginning. Nothing insures involvement more in the outcome than having a hand in the conceptualization. While the wording and ordering of the questions is best left to the sociologist, we found that lay persons added many problem dimensions of which we were not aware. Through participation in the process we hoped they would use the results. Sociologists might focus on more systematic ways to involve lay groups in the research process.

3. We must think of presenting findings in the format in which receivers of information are most likely to use them. Our colleagues hailed the newspaper format of the "Kentucky Issues Study" as a brillant publication coup. We accept all laurels but it was an idea that hatched by saying, "Of the people we want to talk to, how do they best receive and utilize information?" We concluded that the publication must be short and written in comprehensible prose. The answer was either a magazine or a newspaper, with short feature stories about the important findings of the study presented in a very eclectic manner. Our objective was to develop a taste for the findings and then to rely upon a series publication for detailed followups.

4. As in most complicated reciprocal human interaction, people will participate if they see benefit to themselves. We tried to sell the research on the basis of the benefits of such a poll for them. One of the most important was an accurate picture of how the adult population ranked the major issues and problems facing the state. The politicians were interested in legislative issues and a detailed breakdown by legislative districts. The extension people were looking for input to the planning process and some help in selling programs to local people. Everybody was interested in how people wanted to spend money and, of course, all told us what the outcome of the study would be from their perspective. We stressed the importance of having a study done by qualified sociologists at a reputable university which had no vested interest in the outcome of the results.

5. Too often, politicians and administrators, when faced with complex statistical and interpretative data problems, lapse into the "down home" or "poor country boy" jargon. Rather than allow this evasive response we decided that our written material would be as free as possible of professional jargon. Although no readability index was applied to the articles, we tried to make each article as clearly written as possible.

6. We must change the cliente group for which findings are intended. The problem of narrowly circulating our findings among persons who think much like ourselves only minimizes exposure and enhances the ivory-tower image. Rewards must be sought for persons who are able to publish good research for an applied audience.

7. Very similar to the above recommendations is the systematic need to reduce sociologese in both written and oral communications. Conciseness and clarity have always been important goals in good writing, but many academicans feel the need to add qualifiers which expands writing space and generally requires the use of words which have specialized and narrowly shared meanings. Secondly, much of the applied writing must be an extrapolation of the sociological finding to a trend or recommendation that can be useful to the audience. It is a combination of consultant and extension role.

8. We return to the problem of university participating in applied and policy research. Again the dilemma is many faceted. Whether it be Kentucky or Illinois, Oregon or Georgia, many people do not believe that the university (the major land grant institution) is interested in their problems. The reasons may be historical, in that, outside of Extension and the early Chautauqua programs, the colleges and the universities have not had the personnel to deal with applied and practical problems. We were all concerned with the reputation to be derived from doing national research. The regional schools and the community colleges, who have no such pretentions are in many ways more in the position to serve local audiences. The dilemma that faces the major institutions is that they have the resources through the multi-versity structure, but do not have the reward structure. The declining academia opportunities has intensified competition for the remaining tenure slots. In the absence of alternative evaluation criteria we are more likely to reward the focussed specialists. If the administrators of our colleges and universities see more of a need for applied research, that need has not filtered down to the department level.

9. Unlike psychology, sociology does not have little tidbits of highly specific research on how to improve human adjustment. Our cocktail party chatter suffers from overly long explanations. However, what does seem helpful to and sought by lay audiences is the analysis and implications of changes in major social institutions applied to a local problem. For example, what are the implications for a local school program if the declining birth rate and out-migrations patterns continue in rural areas? While such analysis may appear mundane for the average sociologist, it is really helpful and useable to lay audiences.

This paper has tried to bring together in a systematic way some of the questions that have been posed to sociologists engaged in applied and policy research. At one time or another every person in this audience has experienced some of the criticism outlined above and believe us, engaging in applied sociology is ego threatening in a very real sense. However, it is our hope that these applied efforts will be expanded and securely rooted in the reward structure of the discipline.

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PURPOSIVE ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL: CONTRIBUTIONS OF A SOCIOLOGIST

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Man has demonstrated the ability to alter, or mediate the environment to accommodate an ever increasing population. I will assume in this paper that man will continue in his ability to absolutely survive by continued manipulation of the environment and/or altering population change rates. It is the "quality" of that survival, and the type of social organization required to maintain or enhance that "quality" that will be the focus of this paper.

Man has devised social organizational forms which fostered the creation of technology making it possible to alter the environment and increase its "carrying capacity." Without the current mode of social organization available in the western world, and the application of related technology, it would not be possible for over 60% of the U.S. population to occupy only about one percent of our land surface. However, we all fully recognize that to make this possible it has been necessary to exploit the physical environment of not only the continental United States, but to extract vital natural resources from the physical environment of other nations as well.

The general purpose of this paper is to address the issue of planned change that will assure human survival and will maximize the quality of life in society through purposive organizational action. Specifically, the paper will address an approach to the development of purposive organizations, based on the western value framework, that have potential for maintaining or improving the quality of life. Further, the role of the Sociologist as a professional change agent will be discussed.

General Background

Regardless of the organizational forms that apply, or the level of technology available, when applying the macro perspective we must consider that if man, or a society, is to survive the functionalist would point out that there are certain minimal requisites for survival. They are:

1. To provide for replacement of personnel.
2. To socialize these personnel into the existing social order.
3. To provide for the production and distribution of goods and services.
4. To maintain social control.
5. To maintain a sense of meaning and purpose.

While man may be able to meet these functional requisites for human survival, the way in which he reaches them will go a long way towards indicating the essence of the "quality" of that survival. The way in which he reaches them will in large part be governed by the type of "purposive organizations" that he devises and utilizes.

For the purposes of this paper "purposive organization" will be defined as any organizational form that is purposively devised to foster and/or to move towards some goal or value. "Quality of life" then would be expressed in terms of the ideal outcome of operationalizing the complex of goals or values as interpreted by individuals and/or organizations in that society.

Societal Value System

Western society, especially that as evidenced in the U.S., has as a basis for its value system that of individual achievement. Gerson (1976), in a recent article in the American Sociological Review discussed the individualistic foundation of the western value system as follows:

> ". . . an individual approach to the quality of life stresses the achievements of individuals as such: dominance over their circumstances (and especially the ability to overcome adversity), freedom from constraint, and similar ideas. Generally, such approaches stress the primacy of the individual over society and tend to be concerned with the preservation of individual freedom and the problems of order which arise when such freedom, unstricted in principle, is put into practice as a working political organization." (p. 794)

However, as a consequence of this value foundation, western man has seen it as his "right" to exploit the environment of not only his sector of this planet, but other sectors as well to meet his perceived needs. The recent public awareness of our dependence on the whim of national political policies of the less developed nations has been highlighted by our ever increasing dependence on energy sources that come from other than our own nation. We are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the "quality" of our life is in large measure dependent upon the continuance of favorable export and pricing policies for petroleum by other producing nations. We are also becoming more aware of the fact that these very nations are using their petroleum reserves as a lever to force capital from not only the U.S., but other consuming nations as well, to purchase some of the technology that can enhance the "quality" of life for residents of these nations. However, rather than the adherence to a value base that fosters individuality, and individual initiative, the value base in these nations is a product of a very different religious-historical tradition, one which Gerson (1976) terms "Transcendental":

> "Transcendental approaches, on the other hand, tend to stress complementarity of interest and function, the importance of loyalty to other forms of solidarity, the interest of the community-at-large (defined of course in various ways) and the primacy of the community over the individual." (p. 794)

Very simply, the value base for western society flows from the Judeo-Christian foundation of individuality, or the individual becoming master of his own destiny. The religious-historical foundation for non-western societies is based more on man's being subject to the needs of the community, or the society. Consequently, the relative ease with which a communist ideology has captured the fancy of many non-western nations should come as no surprise since it is built upon this same value foundation. The incursion of communism into the developed western nations has met with limited success as a result of a conflict with a differing religious-historical value foundation. Where communism has made inroads in the western world, it has been in nations where the religious-historical tradition is very similar to that of the non-western world, or has been greatly modified from its original form as is the case in certain Western European countries.

Western Man and the Quality of Life

Is western man willing to subject himself totally to the needs of a society, or a social order, and abandon much of what he now defines as the basis for his "quality of life"? One of the central tenets of the western value structure is "choice," or the ability of the individual to choose his own life destiny. I for one am not willing to abandon this basic value, and I feel that the large majority of western man is also unwilling to sacrifice this, and other things we deem as necessary to enhance the "quality" of our lives simply to assure human survival. For survival at this level would deplete the spirit of western man, and it would be extremely difficult to "maintain meaning and purpose", the fifth requisite for the survival of a society as discussed earlier.

So - where do we go from here? If in addition to "maintaining meaning and purpose", what must western man do to maintain, or improve the "quality" of his life? Must western man give up his "individualism" and become "transcendental", and thus lose his identity as western man? But, are those the only choices?

While reports of western visitors to the Peoples Republic of China indicate that the major ingredient in the apparent success of that giant nation to bring peace, order and relative prosperity to the countryside is based upon sublimation of individual will to the need of the state, I am led to wonder if this is truly a new phenomenon for the mainland Chinese, or is this an extension of prior behavior patterns that allow for individual expression in ways that do not conflict with the needs of the political order. Certainly, my experience in Poland, a westernized but also a communist country, would lead me to believe that there is much individuality that is not only tolerated, but encouraged by a political order which is based upon the "transcendental" value framework. While these expressions of individuality may not take the form of material possessions, which provide the basis for much of western individual expression, they do appear in less obtrusive and more politically acceptable ways, such as personal orientation towards things that are considered to have beauty; expressions of feeling towards family members and others; the appreciation of physical surroundings, etc. These perhaps are things that are more truly individualistic than many of the material trappings that western man quite often uses as a gauge of individualism.

But perhaps rather than arguing from these apparently polar positions, it will be helpful to attempt to operationalize the new approach suggested by Gerson which he terms "commitment and negotiation." But to effectively do this we must move from the societal level and focus more on the individual. It is fully recognized that this is a giant leap; however, it is also recognized that the options open to the individual are in large part dictated by the value framework which is the foundation of that society. Therefore, in discussing commitment, Gerson (1976) states:

> "it is necessary to conceptualize the commitment of a person to a particular situation as the resources and constraints affecting him in that situation as limited by other situations in which he participates. That is, the pattern of participation in a given setting presupposes a pattern of participation in a number of other settings as well. . ." (p. 797-798)

In discussing commitment in relation to the "individualistic" and the "transcendental" approaches Gerson (1976) continues:

> "Patterns of joint participation in multiple settings are, therefore, at the heart of any conception of quality of life. From an individualist perspective, we are concerned with the ability of individuals to manage their own patterns of commitment among settings to their satisfaction. From a transcendentalist perspective, we are concerned with the problem of establishing and/or maintaining an appropriate pattern of commitment flow among settings. . . What is negotiated, therefore, are patterns of commitment organization as expressed in flows of resources and constraints upon them." (p. 799)

Therefore, if we are to apply the approach of "commitment and negotiation" to western society, a society based on an individualistic value framework, it will be necessary to remove any real or perceived constraints to commitment that may presently exist in western society and allow western man the freedom and ability to negotiate his participation in those various social organizations to which he may have commitment.

But given the fact that western man can provide the foundation for this potential, how best can we refine our existing social organizations, or develop new ones that will foster this possibility? This is especially true today when throughout the western world two of our dominant institutions, the family and government, seem to be facing major crises of viability and confidence. We have lost our ability to be assured that the behavior of others will be in concert with our own commitments, desire and ability to negotiate. Writing in a recent issue of The Futurist, the political scientist Alden Lind (1975) stated:

> "If we can't predict other people's behavior, we need to be able to trust them to do the right thing.
>
> How can trust be increased? I believe it is through expanded political and communal involvement programs that we must establish the foundations of trust needed for exchange of nonmeasurable values.

> We must develop a means for masses of people to acquire a profound investment in the institutions through which they conduct their affairs." (p. 327)

Therefore, if we are to perpetuate the tradition of western man and to enhance, or maintain the present "quality of life," it will be necessary to pick up Lind's challenge and develop, or refine our existing institutional structure and develop those "purposive organizations," or as Gerson might say--increase the options in regard to commitment organizations and develop our ability to negotiate our participation in them, to assure this possibility.

The Sociologist and "Purposive Organizations"

The challenge then, to all western man, but especially to the discipline of Sociology which is founded on the study of social organization, is to illuminate first, and then foster the implementation of policies and procedures that can make possible the development of those purposive organizations that will maintain, or enhance our "quality of life." I contend that if this is to happen within the western value framework, we must re-establish our commitment to democratic principles, or to democracy as defined by Bennis and Slater (1968):

> "What we have in mind when we use the term "democracy" is not "permissiveness" or "laissez faire," but a system of values--a climate of beliefs governing behavior--which people are internally compelled to affirm by deeds as well as words. These values include:
>
> 1. Full and free communication, regardless of rank and power.
> 2. A reliance on consensus, rather than the more customary forms of coercion or compromise to manage conflict.
> 3. The idea that influence is based on technical competence and knowledge rather than on the vagaries of personal whims or prerogatives of power.
> 4. An atmosphere that permits and even encourages emotional expression as well as task-oriented acts.
> 5. A basically human bias, one that accepts the inevitability of conflict between the organization and the individual, but that is willing to cope with and mediate this conflict on rational grounds.
>
> Change along these dimensions are being promoted widely in American industry. Most important, for our analysis, is what we believe to be the reason for these changes: democracy becomes a functional necessity whenever a social system is competing for survival under conditions of chronic change." (p. 4)

But how can this be done when the major cry of our citizen leaders is that they are serving an "apathetic" public. Are they really apathetic, or do we expect all of the various "publics" to be interested in exactly what we who are present or future leaders are interested in?

Recently, upon analyzing the results of a community survey to identify significant community problems in a North Carolina county it became apparent that the number one concern of the formal and informal leaders in this county was citizen apathy about public issues. An open meeting was scheduled and the public was invited to hear the summary of the findings of this community survey. However, the meeting was rather poorly attended that beautiful spring evening. Is this reinforcement of the charge of citizen apathy? Even the elected public officials who had agreed to be present at the meeting were conspicuous by their absence. But--the reason the elected public officials were absent was that they had already spent an exhausting ten hour day answering to over 400 of those apathetic citizens who had come to an open public meeting to protest the change in assessment of their real property for tax purposes! Perhaps most of those apathetic citizens stayed away from the meeting was the fact that they perceived their participation as futile, having no potential impact, such as their protests over increasing assessments on real property.

However, rather than being a pessimist, I am committed to the optimistic viewpoint that we can rekindle the democratic spirit in this country, and we can restructure existing organizations so that citizens can participate effectively in them in helping to determine their own destiny. I am fully committed to the reality of the value foundation specified by Bennis and Slater earlier. I do believe that we cannot only open up our system and develop those "purposive organizations" that will assure not only human survival, but will assure the maintenance, and the potential improvement of our "quality" of life.

But where do I as a Sociologist start? First of all, I control only myself, and my own resources. I have no control over other individuals, organizations or institutions. However, the way in which I use my own resources may go a long way towards demonstrating to others how they too may utilize their resources to influence the development of organizations or units that are "purposive" in their impact.

As stated earlier, "Purposive Organizations" are those organizational forms that are purposively devised to foster, and/or to move toward some goal or value. Therefore, when discussing "Purposive Organizations for Human Survival" we simply are discussing those organizational forms created by man that can foster those planned changes that will assure human survival. However, in the context of this paper I have been discussing the importance of maintaining, or improving the "quality of life" as defined by western man. That ephemeral factor termed "quality" includes the possibility of choice as outlined earlier in the paper. It also embodies the five values elucidated by Bennis and Slater.

Consequently - what can I as a single Sociologist do to foster these organizational forms and provide for their potential success and effectiveness? As indicated above, I have control only over my own resources. Therefore, the first charge to me is to use these resources to the best of my ability. The knowledge that I possess as a Sociologist must be used wisely and shared with those who might benefit from it. I also have the responsibility of continuing to add to that store of Sociological knowledge - through the recombination of existing bits of knowledge, or the discovery of new knowledge through various disciplined research endeavors, including observation.

You are a part of that audience who might benefit from the knowledge that I, and my fellow Sociologists, possess. Therefore, to the best of my ability I will share that knowledge which finds its foundation in not only Sociology, but in related disciplines as well, as we together continue the quest to improve, or maintain our "quality" of life.

The Sociologist as Change Agent

My colleague, Don Littrell, a Community Development professional at the University of Missouri summarizes the values and beliefs that can be the foundation for the development of those "purposive" planned change organizational structures as follows (Littrell, No Date):

"1. People have the right to participate in decisions which have an effect on their well being.
2. Participating democracy is the superior method of conducting community affairs.
3. People have the right to strive to create that environment which they desire.
4. People have the right to reject an externally imposed environment.
5. Maximizing human interaction in a community will increase the potential for human development.
6. Implicit within a process of interaction is an ever widening concept of 'community'.
7. Every discipline and/or profession is potentially a contributor to a community's development process.
8. Motivation is created in man by association with his environment.
9. Community development is "interested" in developing the ability of human beings to meet and deal with their environment." (P. 4-5)

First, we must identify and facilitate opportunities for the individual to become involved in creating those organizations to which he might become committed through the process of negotiation. We must help him identify those areas in the world of work that could be termed commitment organizations where he has the ability to negotiate, and point up other opt[illegible]hat may be available of which he is not aware. We must also help him identify those areas in his life in the community that seek his commitment and then help him learn to negotiate so that his impact will be felt directly or indirectly.

Next we must assess those options within the community and determine where it would enhance the democratic principle if new commitment opportunities existed. Much of the mistrust of our complex government, and government related bureauracy, today is based on the frustration of not being able to determine how or where to make an input. So - these options must be identified and we must use our skill as educators and change agents, to help those elected public officials and the relevant agency personnel learn how to effectively utilize citizen input (create commitment possibilities) into the decision making process.

An Example

A case in point here is the Citizens Advisory Council in Raleigh, North Carolina. The Raleigh City Council, partially as a response to perceived pressure from a Federal agency as well as enlightened leadership within city government, established the Raleigh Citizens Advisory Council which serves as a sounding board to the City Council for major issues confronting the city. The strength of the CAC is located within the 18 neighborhood task forces that encompass 18 geographically based neighborhoods. Issues that affect specific neighborhoods are first discussed within the framework of the neighborhood task force with ideas and recommendations forwarded to the CAC. The CAC then reviews task force recommendations in light of city-wide needs and priorities and then makes recommendations to City Council for consideration in the process of making a policy decision.

In theory, the Raleigh CAC has much to offer. It, through the neighborhood task forces offer the opportunity for every citizen to make an input into policy and program determination. In reality, participation in the neighborhood task forces is very limited in large part because they still are relatively new and many citizens are not aware of their existence; funding for communication with constituency is extremely limited; and certain elected public officials have publicly voiced their opposition to the incursion of citizen skill, knowledge, dedication, and concern into the decision making process. However, in addition to these problems, perhaps a more basic problem is that there are only some 18 identified neighborhood task forces in a city that exceeds 150,000 residents - or somewhere between six and ten thousand residents in each of the neighborhoods. As a Sociologist Change Agent I must review what I know about human interaction and commitment in the organizational setting. At the least, size is a major deterrent to active participation. Therefore, to increase the potential for this organizational form to have real impact and real citizen participation we would realistically need to consider increasing the number of neighborhood organizations at least 10 fold so that each would represent some 500 - 1000 citizens and increase appreciably the opportunity for their participation.

The mere creation of many more neighborhood groups by Council fiat would not solve the problem of a lack of citizen participation. We have been systematically socialized to the fact that we have little real opportunity for participation in decision making. Consequently, to make this change effective we would need to mount a massive citizen re-education process to help them learn the skills of organizational participation so that they could be effective.

But, back to me, the Sociologist. I do have some knowledge about how to structure the neighborhood organizations to facilitate the possibility for higher interaction. I do have some skills and knowledge for eliciting public input on a decision without requiring the individual to participate in a face-to-face public meeting. I do have some knowledge and skills as to how to create educational opportunities that can help the individual learn how to participate effectively in the group. But, I also know that "people support what they help to create" - and therefore I must use my skill and expertise as a Sociologist to provide them with the knowledge, skills and support that can allow them to become active, participating citizens - but I must not make decisions for them.

So, one form of increasing the potential for citizens to become involved in determining their own destiny is an organizational form similar to the Raleigh Community Advisory Council. The same principle can be applied to units of government at higher levels. The base of community advisory councils in each of our nation's municipalities would cover perhaps 80% of our nation's population. These, and similar organizational forms that presently exist, or could be created outside of the municipalities, could form the network for citizen input on issues that were larger than neighborhood, municipality, or governmental unit.

Additional Sectors of Community Life

These forms of "purposive" organizations have the impact for providing citizen input into governmental decision making. If we can refer back to the very beginning of the paper, we discussed the five functional requisites for human survival. One of these requisites was to "maintain social control," the primary function of government. Can we apply the same generic principle to the other sectors of human life? I believe that we can. Bennis and Slater have already stated that democratization is becoming a necessity in American business as a result of rapid technological change. Consequently, we can assume that we are already moving towards the development of "purposive" structures within the economic sector of society that provide for more individual involvement in decision making because it is no longer possible for a benevolent dictator to head an economic institution and remain economically viable for very long - the institution is too large and complex, and change is too rapid for just one person to be able to maintain direction and control.

Another of the functional requisites for human survival had to do with "socializing personnel into the existing social order." This is best reflected in the formal and informal educational structures such as schools, the family, youth groups and the church. While the formal education structure is changing and adapting to the needs of its clientele, it still has a long way to go towards meaningful participation in policy and programmatic decisions by those who are affected by it. There has been some movement to provide more opportunities for students to become involved in their own educational pursuits - but have we realistically devised ways in which those who are the consumers of the educational product to become involved and impact on programs and policies? I believe that we have made only limited impact here and must create new and more effective "purposive" structures (non-traditional education, including life-experience) so that the end product of these programs will better fit their needs. We must have more input to school administration from other sectors of life to make it possible to provide those socialization experiences that will produce a product that is skilled and adaptable to the needs of a changing society. A colleague who had done research on the adoption of innovation once said that in medicine and agriculture it is currently taking less than two years for some new innovation to be adopted by over half of the clientele - but in education we still are looking at a 30 year adoption median!

We have discussed three of the functional requisites for human survival and some purposive organizational forms that may enhance their viability. The next, or that requisite that deals with "the maintenance of meaning and purpose" is often assigned to the institution of the church - or some other institutional form that will facilitate this end such as a strong feeling of nationalism, or expression through the creative and performing arts - both of which tend to reinforce either identification with the church or some nation state or political ideology.

Much of the potential for this requisite is not institutionally or organizationally based, so it is difficult to apply our rather simplistic democratic framework for participation here. However, wherever there are organizational forms that facilitate these institutional mechanisms - as in the church and similar institutions - we can apply that democratic model and provide for more individual input into the policy and decision making structure. Again, as stated earlier "people tend to support what they help to create," and this is as true of an idea or a philosophy as it is of some more tangible object.

Finally, the last of those functional requisites, or to "provide for the replacement of personnel" must be discussed. This generally is deemed to be the responsibility of the family - in whatever form it may take. For we have yet to discover how to provide for replacements (children) without the physical interaction of biologically adult males and females. While there currently is advanced research being reported that may modify this process, we as a society have not, as yet, determined if we will allow the application of this new information.

While form and structure are changing throughout society - so too within the family. We have dealt primarily with western man in this paper, and the society of western man is primarily an industrialized society. Industrialization has fostered many changes within the family structure because it has a high and ever increasing requirement for labor. Since western man has decided that participation in the world of work on the part of children interferes with their socialization, it has become necessary for increasing numbers of women to enter the labor force to slack the insatiable appetite of the industrial machine. The ever increasing involvement of women in the labor force is bringing change within the family structure - and the family as a result of its struggle to survive is too becoming more democratized and open to the involvement of all members in the family decision making framework. Therefore, we perhaps do not need to invent any new "purposive" organizational forms to facilitate democratization of the family - but we must develop and strengthen those organizational forms that are supporting and facilitating this movement.

So - where to from here? I know what I as a product of western society, a citizen of a nation that is a democratic republic, and an individual trained in the discipline of sociology must do to foster human survival in the western tradition. I have not attempted to tell you what your responsibility is - you must determine that, and probably will do so within the same value framework as I. I have control only over my own resources - so do you. But, by working together within the democratic framework as laid down by Bennis and Slater, and the related values suggested by Littrell, we can help our fellow citizens of the western world discover and develop those purposive organizations that will not only assure the absolute survival of western man, but will assure the possibility of maintaining or improving those factors in life that have come to be the ingredients of a high "quality of life."

Summary

In this paper I have discussed an approach to the development of purposive organizations, or those organizational types that will foster planned change within the western, democratized, value framework. Further, I have pointed out how these organizations have the potential for maintaining or improving the quality of life for western man. Finally, I have discussed the role that I, as a Sociologist/Change Agent can play in this process.

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT: RECONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT

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Rural Development: Reconceptualization and Measurement

by

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This paper is written in partial response to needs dictated by a new research project (S-120) and corollary demands arising out of this endeavor for definition of concepts, elaboration of theoretical perspectives and the specification of methods for attaining research objectives. This regional project is entitled "Social Organization for Development of Low Income Counties" and assumes the purpose of identifying decision-making structures in rural communities and determining if the decision-making structure has any over-all effect on the development of the county. An additional purpose of the research involves the determination of the relative magnitude of the success or failure of organizations and networks in facilitating or inhibiting development and formulating alternative conceptual and action models for counties in varying stages of development.

Given the particular area of concern and research endeavor, this effort will be directed to four objectives. The first objective is, through an examination of a theoretical body of knowledge relating to social change, to derive theoretical assumptions relevant to rural development, A second and related objective is to specify basic characteristics of rural development. A third objective will involve an examination of the utility of social indicators that can be used to provide a more accurate assessment of the well being of individuals in such units as the county, state or region. A fourth objective will involve an examination of frames of reference for social indicator work and a specification of elements of a research program.

Theories of Change

James S. Coleman in an article entitled "Conflicting Theories of Social Change" examines theories of social change with a limitation to theories of directed or intentional change.[1] This delimiting factor, he feels, allows us to hold constant the direction or goal of change and to compare the different paths to that goal specified by different theories.

This author feels there is general agreement upon the goals in the various intentional theories of change being implemented throughout the world. This goal, he states, may be described as an increase in control over the conditions of existence or alternatively an expansion of resources. This could include an increase in wealth, but is not limited to wealth.[2] More fundamentally, he states, "it implies the holding of a greater set of resources, either individually or collectively, making possible a wider range of choice."[3] This narrowing of the problem of social change provides a simplification because it imposes a single dimension on the various factors in change. "Having more of any good, whatever its nature, is a better state than having less."[4] Thus, theories of directed change differ from theories of general change by "imposing an evaluation upon any element in the system - an evaluation derived from its contribution to the ultimate goal."

This author points out that an examination of theories of social change with this orientation produces several sharp differences between theories upon which various actions toward change are based. He then contends that the major distinction between theories of change which divides them into two broad classes is between those that start with changes in social conditions in which individuals find themselves versus those that start with changes in individuals. He points out that this distinction is one that pervades nearly all action programs designed to produce change and that one approach relates to the premise that if only the material conditions in which a group or society finds itself are changed, then that unit will go ahead and expand its resources.[5] The opposing approach is based on the premise that if only individuals themselves are changed then they will move toward an expansion of resources.[6]

This author then examines two theories that place the starting point of changes in social conditions and two theories (or theorists) for whom directed social change depends on individual change. Those theories that place the starting point of change in social conditions are dichotomized into: (1) those that take legal change as the starting point; and (2) those that take an increase in economic resources as the starting point. Those theories that place the starting point of change as change in individuals include the "individualists" (Max Weber, Everett Hagen, David McClelland, Jean Paul Satre) and the revolutionaries (Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung, and Franz Fannon).[7]

After discussing applications of the different theories to different situations of social change Coleman points out that these theories have been applied to different situations of social change, but states that he feels that partial consistency of theories and social structure does not carry too far.[8] He further states "It implies that the theories discussed earlier, those concerning the social conditions in which individuals find themselves are relevant to the question of which of these mechanisms is most effective for change. Yet it does so without specifying these conditions. It goes no farther than to suggest the more open is the legal structure and the more opportunities provided by the economic resources, the more conducive is the structure to the individualist mechanisms. Yet in a concrete situation, the matter is not clear."[9]

When questions involving concrete situations are raised, such questions imply the acceptance of a too simple view of social change. Coleman feels that the very examination of these four theories of directed change shows the extremely fragmentary character of any one of them. The essence of Coleman's concern becomes more relevant as this author asks how some more adequate orientation to directed social change might be achieved.

Before addressing the question of a more adequate orientation to directed social change one omission in all the theories is discussed by the author. This is the role of formal education. He points out that if education were to have appeared anywhere in these theories, its most natural place would appear to be in the individualist theories; but "it is quite clear that the changes in individuals described by these theorists are not intellectual, nor changes of skills, but rather changes in motivation and personality."[10]

The author brings the role of educational institutions into the framework of the discussion by specifying the kinds of things that schools do teach or could teach. Ordinarily, these are seen to consist of two attributes: knowledge and skill. However, the focus of the individualist theorists of social change espouse another as well: changes in personality and motivation, the development of a need for achievement, a strong goal orientation.[11] The author points out that knowledge and skills, which are the traditional products of education have a closer affinity to the theories that depend on the addition of economic resources. But the other attributes, the motivation and personality characteristics themselves are a different kind of entity altogether. These attributes are the element that make the individual an active agent, that lead him to use the equipment, knowledge and skill he has toward specific goals. They constitute the motive-power which according to the last two sets of theorists discussed previously, are the essential sources of social change.[12]

The author points out that the very institutions in society that are designed to change individuals have little effect on those very attributes of individuals that many theorists feel are most important for change. "Their role instead has been to provide better equipment with which to work -- minds or hands that are more able to accomplish a task -- not to create motivated actors who will employ this equipment most productively.[13]

Coleman suggests that the very absence of such institutions in society, together with the extremely variable ability of the family to provide socialization which creates such personalities, suggests that modern societies may be poorly designed for change.[14] He maintains that this suggests that an institution is missing in modern society, an institution that would bring about these important changes in individuals making them active -- goal oriented agents.[15] Generally he feels that as the family has relinquished these activities to the community or the society, no agency has developed to supplement this function.[16] Coleman feels that the knowledge about socialization and about personality change and motivational change exists to do so, but certainly the schools are not designed for this purpose, nor is any other institution."[17]

Of particular relevance to the concern of this paper, Coleman raises the question of what a more adequate theory of social change might look like. While he does not attempt to construct such a theory, this author does suggest a few points that appear relevant and have broad implications.

The first point that is clear, he feels, is that change depends on interaction between the conditions described in the lawyers and economists' theories and the personalities described in the psychologists and revolutionaries' theories. "Change appears in some fashion to be a product of these two kinds of elements, operating in a number of institutional areas."[18]

The author points out that as a consequence "two matters that are ordinarily not distinguished in theories of directed change are; (1) the general model of change on the one hand, and; (2) the elements which in a given society or subgroup are deficient."[19] When such a distinction is made, he feels, it may well be that the same general theory of change can lead to the lawyers', or the economists, or the psychologists' or the revolutionaries' prescriptions for change in a given case -- depending on what elements are deficient in that case.[20]

Coleman further suggests that in developing the general model of change, it appears useful to think of a set of resources held at any point in time by a society or a subgroup in society, and a set of transformation processes by which these resources can create further resources."[21] He feels that "one can conceive of the institutions of a society as arenas within which these transformation processes take place, creating a given set of output resources from a set of input resources."[22] Examples of such arenas would be constituted of the courts, the economic system, as a set of arenas, the government decision-making bodies as another, schools another, families another and so on.

Coleman suggests that if one begins to look at directed social change in the way that positions of the four theories that he describes will find a place.[23] He further suggests that it will then provide a tool by which one can examine the appropriate strategies for change in a society. This rationale assumes that "if there is to be a more abundant set of output resources -- which is the direction of change toward which all these theories aim -- then with such a framework it becomes possible to locate deficiencies in input resources that may be externally modified."[24]

Coleman's statements, while relevant, are less than conclusive and are only implicative at best. This is to say that many of the ideas expressed in this particular work serve well as guides to thinking about change and as a prescription for developing some basis underlying assumptions regarding change as a process. However, what is prescribed at this point is a framework that will allow a more concrete level of abstraction where the principles of community change and approaches to planned change can be viewed.

Community Change

Evidence abounds to suggest that changing human behavior is a very difficult task. Not only are specific behavior patterns difficult to change, it is indeed difficult to get people involved in broader community wide action related to problem areas of the total community. "Etzioni states, What is becoming increasingly apparent is that to solve social problems by changing people is more experience and usually less productive than approaches that accept people as they are and seek to mend not them but the circumstances around them."[25] Etzioni illustrates this point by citing a study of automobile safety conducted by the Department of Health Education and Welfare.[26] In this study, which used cost-effective measures to evaluate efforts to cut down on the deaths on American highways, it was indicated that driver education saved lives at an estimated cost of $88,000 per life, while it was estimated that a new innovation such as seat belts was more than a thousand times as effective at a cost of approximately $89 for a life saved. Yet, the author points out that driver education continues to be stressed as a main preventive measure while automobile safety laws are only moderate in their requirements and tend to be poorly enforced. These approaches to this particular problem utilize two differing assumptions; Driver Education assumes that people can be taught to change habits while the required use of seat belts assumes that peoples' habits are not easily changed so their environment is altered in such a way that safer habits will be insured.[27]

It would be somewhat erroneous to assume that educational programs have no utility or should not be continued. However, in order to devise more effective programs, full implications must be learned and it must be realized that many efforts, when the full implications were not known, have generally been ineffective.

In attempting to formulate basic assumptions underlying community change it should be pointed out that newer formulations regarding structure of human communities appear relevant. Harold Nix, in a manuscript entitled "The Community and its Involvement in the Study-Action-Planning Process" points out that the growing body of literature on "community, community leadership and community action has demonstrated at least sex basic points.[28] First, modern complex communities are not made up basically of people or groups with common interests and goals but of people and groups with many different interests and goals. Second, social power or leadership is present and exercised in patterned ways in all social systems including communities. Third, community leaders and decision-making groups can be identified by certain techniques. Fourth, only a very small percentage of citizens of a community become actively involved in most community decision-making processes.

Fifth, successful community action depends, in large measure upon finding and involving the key community leaders. Sixth, studies have demonstrated that the professional planner is much more likely to lead to action toward improving community programs when he involves lay citizens early in his study planning process."[29]

One implication to be derived from the material just cited is that knowledge of the nature of the community and community leadership is significantly related to principles of community change and approaches to planned change. Nix maintains that if these assumptions are correct, those concerned with community improvement will tend to be more successful if they can be made cognizant of the special-interest and competitive nature of communities, identify key community leaders and groups, and involve leaders, groups and citizens in a study-planning action process.

The Concept of Community

Bates takes the view that the social facts of which communities are made are the relationships between the various special interest groups and organizations with a locality.[31] There are two basic types of "in between" or "interstitial" relationships that are described. The first type is referred to as "exchange interstitial" relationships in which individuals, groups and organizations exchange their specialized goods or services.[32] This relationship could be typified as the merchant-customer or professional-client relationship.

This author labels the second type of community relationship as the "coordinative interstitial relationship which occurs in "coordinative interstitial" groups.[33] The function of coordinative interstitial relationships is to manage the relationships among two or more groups or organizations that have differing and potentially complicating interests.[34] Examples cited would be a local chamber of commerce, a community development council or an informal decision-making clique.[35] Several special-interest groups such as a bank, a hardware store, a realty company, a low firm or industrial plant would be represented as members of this type of organization. Community power appears to be gained through exchange relationships, but the experience of community power is primarily through coordinative relationships.[36] Nix states that "research findings suggest that reputed community leaders gain influence over others by occupying economic and governmental positions of exchange which allow them to control, in varying degrees, the lives of other people."[37] Influence over community wide affairs is executed by active participation "in influential organizations of a coordinative nature which are composed of representatives of different interest groups and orgaizations."[38]

It should be emphasized that these two basic types of relations are quite different from special interest groups and organizations at the community level such as families, stores, schools or other organizations where the role behavior of members in relation to each other culturally or ideally reciprocal and where members are supposedly oriented to the basic goal of the group or organization represented.[39] In both exchange and coordinative interstitial groups the role behavior is basically "conjuctive" or competitive in nature. Nix points out that "as customer and merchant meet and as representatives of various special-interest groups meet in the local chamber of commerce or a community planning council they are basically oriented to different goals.[40] That is, they are expected to defend the interests of the organizations or groups they represent. Nix poses the question "Then why do they meet?" In answer to the question this author states "They meet because the division of labor or specialization has made them very interdependent upon the goods or services provided by each other and they realize that it requires some coordination and compromise to provide stable conditions within which to pursue effectively their special goals while obtaining the goods and services provided by others."[41]

The purpose of this theoretical elaboration of the concept of community has been to suggest "that interstitial groups and organizations should be the focus of attention if we are to understand the community."[42] A related purpose is to suggest that communities, rather than basically systems of cooperating individuals, groups and organizations with common goals have a orientation in both exchange and coordinative interstitial groups that is basically conjunctive or compatitive. "Hence the force which underlies community wide cooperation is not so often a common goal as it is an interdependence brought about by the increasing specialization in society."[42]

On the basis of these assumptions the community may be defined as "a social system whose function is to manage the competition and conflict which arises out of the necessity to exchange limited goods and services which, in turn, arise out of a division of labor in society and the scarcity of resources."[43]

Nix further suggests that "the adaptive community is not one with complete harmony and concensus, but one whose specialized leaders and group representatives realize that their interdependency requires an organized approach to compromise and a system of conflict management. Furthermore, the need for an organized or patterned leadership structure for controlling competition and conflict becomes greater as the community grows larger, more complex and more interdependent."[44]

Community Leadership

The capacity to determine the action of others constitutes social power. If this social power is used, which it may or may not be, leadership is exercised. Thus, the basis of leadership is social power.[45]

Social power has its source in authority, influence and unlegitimized coercion. Positions one holds in groups or organizations and the authority vested in these offices or positions constitute a part of an individuals power. Authority is the right to control specified aspects of the behavior of other members of that particular group. Authority tends to be "more characteristic of special-interest groups and organizations and their associated reciprocal relationships than of community-type(exchange or coordinative) groups."[46]

Another aspect of social power is not associated with an office or specific position but instead resides within the individual. This part of a persons social power is labeled influence and at the level of community is the result of two factors that are cumulative. First is influence growing out of all the positions or offices held which give him control over scarce resources such as goods and services, etc. and means of communication which gives him indirect influence over others beyond his authority. Second, is the result of personal qualities such as appearance, age, family background, character, knowledge and communication skills. Community influence involves not the "specific right" but the ability of an individual to control or influence the behavior of others in intergroup and interorganizational activities.[47] Exchange and coordinative relationships are characterized by the exercise of influence rather than authority.

Unlegitimized coercion involves taking the property of others through the use of force. In the study of leadership in communities and other groups or organizations there has been increased attention given to types of leaders.[48] The fact that differing techniques used in identifying leaders tends to uncover a predominance of different functional types of leaders has brought about the concern with types and functional kinds of leadership by level of influence. The types of community leaders are often summarized on the basis of different dimensions. These dimensions are (1) level and function, (2) scope of influence, and (3) basic orientation. No attempt will be made in this presentation to identify and characterize the subtypes for each of the dimensions.

Until this point in the paper our concern has been with an understanding of the nature of change, the nature of the community, leadership and community change for the purposes of the current research effort (S-120).

In the next section of the paper, the concern is with characteristics of rural development and with a study-action planning process. Basically, the concern will be with how to get the job done and will involve a description of guidelines and steps involved in the research process.

IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY LEADERS, ORGANIZATIONS AND FACTIONS

Usually, in the study of community power and leadership, one or more of four basic approaches have been used. These involve (1) the positional approach, (2) the social participation approach, (3) the reputational approach, and (4) the decision making approach.[49]

The positional approach assumes that those individuals who hold top positions in the largest and most active organizations will make the important community decisions. The assumption that formal authority in special interest organization is associated with community leadership tends to uncover a relatively large proportion of Key influential leaders but leaves out the effectors and activists. The assumption also obfuscates the fact that persons holding top positions, in organizations in a community may choose not to get involved in community offices.

The social participation approach assumes that leadership is a consequence of social activity in voluntary associations. The membership activities and offices in civic, service and social organizations is used to determine the individuals' leadership. This approach tends to identify basically the "activist" as a type of leader.

The reputational approach identifies leaders as persons reputed to have power or influence in community affairs. Individuals are identified as leaders by asking selected individuals in the community to name the person(s) they consider to be most influential or powerful in community affairs. Selected positional leaders are asked to name influentials for a beginning list of reputed leaders. Those named by the positional leaders are in turn asked to nominate top influentials. Although the method has been highly criticized the defenders contend that it is the only way to uncover the "subtleties of intent, indirect influence and behind-the-scenes maneuvering. This approach tends to uncover a high proportion of legitimizers.

The decision-making approach involves a study of the events or decisions that determine who was involved in influencing specific outcomes. This approach tends to be time consuming and expensive and also presents the difficulty of selecting the most meaningful events or decisions from which to study decision-making. Another difficulty involves the right and opportunity for the researcher to be present when key decisions are made. This is a problem in relation to informal settings. This approach does not reveal the influence of policy, reputation or behind the scenes maneuvering. This approach tends to reveal a relatively large proportion of effectors, or leaders who tend to be specialists or task oriented leaders.

Summary

The tendency for data gathered to present the illusion of a monolithic or an undifferentiated power group perhaps constitutes the most important criticism of leadership studies. It has been illustrated that this weakness can be overcome, in part "by asking additional questions relating to power groups or organizations and making supplementary observations of leader associations to determine the structural nature of community power or the number and nature of power groups."[50]

There appears to be an increasing tendency for researchers in the area of community leadership to use a combination of approaches in that each approach with varying degrees of overlap has a tendency to identify different functional types of leaders.[51] As illustrated previously, the reputational approach tends to identify the top leaders or legitimizers. The decision making approach, particularly in larger communities, tends to reveal the effectors or second-level leaders. The social participation approach tends to discover the activist, civic leaders or joiners. Persons occupying top positions in the most powerful organizations (business, industry, government, politics and finance) and occasionally in the professions (education, religion and labor) tend to be identified in the positional approach.

The next section of this paper will involve the presentation of a method used to overcome the weaknesses just discussed. This "modified positional-reputational approach" is an attempt to modify and combine two approaches so as to reveal some of all types of leaders-legitimizers, effectors, activists as well as leaders of under-represented categories such as women and blacks. The method is also designed to reveal community factions and the key coordiantive groups or centers of decision-making. This method, referred to as the "Reconnaissance Sampling Method," was developed by Dr. Harold Nix of the University of Georgia and has been utilized in field studies and has proven functional in overcoming the basic criticisms alluded to earlier -- the illusion of one undifferentiated power group.[52] There are several steps in the "Reconnaissance Sampling Method" in determining community leaders, organizations and factions such as (1) determining the geographical-political area to study (2) developing a questionnaire or interview schedule (3) selecting the repondents, (4) interviewing or administering the questionnaire, (5) summary and analysis of findings, and (6) additional observations.

Rural Development

The concept of "rural development" has historically been vague and has been applied in rather abstract ways. One of the basic characteristics that has been assumed appears to be the implications for the betterment of human conditions through the process of planned change. Socially desirable objectives are typically achieved through implemented strategies of planned change. Social conditions are changed through the modification of culture and social structures as such, a normative process is involved since the specification of meaningful goals and methods of attainment of these goals as achieved by satisfying particular values and interests. The focus of rural development then, is upon the enhancement of human conditions of several people.

Klonglan, Beal, et. al. specify at least seven basic characteristics that can be associated with the concept of "rural development."[53] A brief presentation and short discussion of the characteristics would appear to be applicable and relevant as a review and refocus of attention on primary goals as related to the objectives of the current S-120 project. Those suthors specify rural development as a process;

a) that is concerned with people -- The process is strongly people-oriented and all stages of the process involve people regardless of whether the focus is on method,programs or products of development.

b) that is goal-directed -- Social goals while often framed in abstractions (improving quality of life, enhancing equality of opportunity) may also be expedited at a very concrete level such as increase in employment opportunities. In essence, these goals are about people.

c) whose goals are intended to achieve "better conditions" for rural people -- Since expressed goals are intended to enhance social well-being they anticipate the improvement of social conditions for all rural people, in all areas of social concern.

d) is concerned with more than economic development -- while rural development includes economic development much more is also included. "It is concerned with impacting the total social milieu of rural America; it seeks to enhance rural people in all spheres of their life, not simply from an economic point of view."

e) is "balanced" and equitable development -- This characteristic of rural development suggests that rural areas/communities should be viewed as complex wholes and is corollary to the fact that rural development is more than economic development. This characteristic also suggest that"balanced" development does not encourage one aspect of well-being. Equitable development means that rural development should have impact on all relevant groups of the population.

f) that is affected by social policy -- This characteristic of rural development is based upon assumption that enhancing social well-being does not happen automatically and that decision-making at various levels is involved as are the people for whom they make social policy decisions.

g) instigates changes in rural social structures -- As instigated social change rural development seeks to improve conditions in rural areas through logical plans and programs. As such, this process will in some way alter the existing nature of social organizations and institutions. New social policies in some social concern areas may result in very obvious alterations in social structures. While other changes are less obvious to the casual observer. Regardless of degree of change or social structures or its visibility, rural development "is intended" to improve the capability of rural people to solve problems.[54]

Social Indicators and Rural Development

The social well-being of individuals in any society or segment thereof relies extensively upon the ability of planners and policy makers to make coherent and relevant decisions regarding effective social policies, plans and programs. Social indicators provide a more accurate and objective depiction of the socioeconomic status of individuals, situated in geopolitical units such as society, state, region, county or community. Social indicator research, as a goal, can develop methodologies whereby planners and policy-makers can obtain a better understanding of the degree of social well-being experienced by people and use that information in achieving balanced and equitable development. The rationale just stated suggests the applicability of social indicators for rural development. A system of social indicators can be developed to measure and evaluate social well-being over time. "Social policy decisions could then be based on what the examination of social data reveals; decisions would be reached and implemented for clearly objective reasons, and the modus operandi thereby established for making future decisions."[55]

Although the situation just described constitutes a goal the relevant question becomes one of how might social indicator researchers organize their research activities in order to facilitate the achievement of their goals.

Klonglan, Beal, et. al. in a summary report entitled "Toward a Methodology for Social Indicators in Rural Development" state that in order to be most useful to the policymaker, descriptive social reporting must be complemented by analytic social reporting, with the latter being informed by social indicator modeling. However, the entire process is undergirded by the framework and working relationships developed during social bookkeeping involves the initial phase of the process of "evolving" social indicators for use in planned social development.[51] Two of the chief objectives of the "evolution" process are the scientific development of valid and reliable social indicators and the application of these derived indicators in social policymaking efforts." [58]

The significant contribution for the purposes of the present research is the development of a preliminary set of social statistics which measure important multidimensional aspects of a modal concept from the perspective of social policy. It is also anticipated that a general framework will be used as a basis for mobilizing the set of social statistics. The framework will be refined in later phases of work and become the foundation for increasingly detailed analyses and planning.

Klonglan, Beal et. al present an orientation toward social bookkeeping which appears applicable to the research concerns in the current S-120 project.[59] A fuller discussion of the framework devised and employed during the initial phase of social indicator work can be obtained in Chapter 5 of "Toward a Methodology for Social Indicators in Rural Development."[60]

In this chapter the authors define social well-being and present a method for delineating areas of social well-being. Once the areas of well-being are identified the first step in the process of constructing a system of social indicators is to develop a general framework for measuring social well-being. The authors suggest steps in achieving this objective and identify how policy-relevant human needs are not in each well-being area and how one can measure the degree of social well-being. These authors introduce the important components which in some way contribute to or are evaluative of, social well-being and identify three distinctive classes of resources which are important for understanding the nature and course of social well-being. As such, the social bookkeeping phase, involves many basic research activities and many of the techniques and formulations described in this part of this report appear to have direct application to the research concerns of the regional S-120 research group.[61]

Conclusion

While there is certainly agreement on the utility of social indicators as descriptive tools, it should be pointed out that they do not become a part of explanation without an adequate model of society, region, state or community (county). Some of the basic assumptions regarding the process of change in relation to collective behavior and organization for collective solutions to community problems as presented earlier provide this model. These assumptions, in essence are that; (1) Human conditions in this technologically advanced society are, in large measure, the product of the social structure Therefore, all proposed changes, regardless of their intent, involve changing the social structure. (2) if physical or technical change utlimately involves changing the social structure of a society, community (or whatever unit of analysis) then it follows that change agents should know what they are attempting to change. They should know something about peoples attitudes, scale of values felt needs or problems in general in relation to institutional areas of in regard decision making and the relationships between various groups and organizations and (3) The change agent or scientist must learn something about the social structure in terms of values, beliefs, behavior relationships and leadership and account for differences on the basis of such factors as class, occupation and other aspects of the community.[62]

Bates and Harvey, in a recent work, reiterate that "the function of community structure is to provide a system of structural linkage among differentiated parts that permits these parts to exchange the inputs and outputs necessary to their own operation."[63] These authors contend that "It is this linkeage system that constitutes an added structural element beyond those elements already included within groups and within organizations."[64] They add further "that the study of community structure should focus upon the study of interstitial groups and conjunctive relationships, as the critical structures that constitute the unique ingredients of the community as a social system."[65] These authors then proceed to specify the critical interstitial groups that constitute the linkeage system in American communities and to clarify what are considered organizations and independent elemental groups.

It is felt that the concerns of this project are related to analyzing the structure of social systems for the purpose of assessing change. We are looking at the system level at certain things (social indicators) that tell us on one hand what exists from a descriptive analysis. We are also proposing that the adaptive community will have certain structural and processual features. These are:

(1) An efficient governmental structure based on current socioeconomic conditions.

(2) A coordinative interstitial structure based on democratic principles and a wide host of skills to draw upon.

(3) A rational education process built into the coordinative structure (on educational dimension) that enables individuals together to look at basic rational facts and to make rational decisions.

(4) An adequate communication system tied together through formal and informal processes.

This presciption would again emphasize not the person-centered, but system-centered analysis. If these elements could be assumed, it would then appear that this approach can give people what they need and want. If it is decided,through social indicator research and through evidence gained concerning community processes, that better health, education or recreation is needed then these mechanisms will give the ability to get it.

Footnotes

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40 Ibid, p.4

41 *Ibid.*

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43 *Ibid.*

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*, p.6

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47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*, p.7

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51 Nix, *Op. Cit.*, p.23

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55 Gerald E. Klonglan George M. Beal, Leslie D. Wilcox, Frank A. Fear, K. Wickam Wasson, "Toward a Methodology for Social Indicators in Rural Development: Summary Report, *Sociology Report 124*, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. January, 1976, p.17.

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57 *Ibid.*, p.20

58 *Ibid.*, p.27

59 *Ibid.*, p.29

60 *Ibid.*, p.30

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65 Bates and Harvey, *Op. Cit.*, p.208

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CONVERGENCE OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY FOR COMMUNITY RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

Demographic methodology refers to quantitative analysis (often statistical or mathematical) of available data. These data are frequently from formal federal censuses, but data collected by public and private agencies on local, state, and national levels qualify, and social, economic, housing, agriculture, business, manufactures, transportation, and other data bases are included.

Case study refers to a rather intensive examination of some single unit such as a single community (Helmstadter, 1970). The case study label is also used when several representative units have been selected and subjected to a detailed description. In the research reported in this manuscript, 16 communities were selected and studied. When that number of units are studied, "field studies" may be a better methodological label than case studies (Zelditch, 1962).

Community, in this manuscript, may range from a small incorporated place (and its trade area) to a county (or town in New England, parish in Louisiana, borough in Alaska). The maximum geographic size of a county which most social scientists will tolerate as a community is probably the Northwest Ordinance survey county.

Communities, as units of analyses, have historically been studied for similar purposes, regardless of methodological considerations. Descriptive research is conducted, syntheses of similar studies are occasionally derived, and more rarely generalizations result in building of theory. Demographic and case study procedures have certainly been utilized in given research efforts by given researchers. The purpose of this manuscript (modest in nature) is to take a brief look at the potential for convergence of demographic and case study methodology for community and rural development research.

The author previously reviewed the literature on this topic in order to obtain guidelines for limited case studies of communities.[1] An updated review is currently being conducted and support for demographic inventories is evident in the literature.[2] Other references note the utility of case study research for community and rural development research. Finally, the convergence of demographic and case study methodology is receiving some attention in the literature.

The body of knowledge on this topic is not without some guidance. But specific procedures and techniques are generally not outlined in this body of knowledge. Problems of this nature are currently of concern to the author of this manuscript and to other participants in a regional project titled, "Social Organization for Development of Low-Income Counties." Research methodology to investigate such a topic must be generated, it is assumed that case studies of some type will be conducted, and demographic inventories will be conducted. But will additional analyses of demographic data be helpful? The critical questions are concerned with how complete the case studies should be (field studies on one hand or ethnographies on the other) and regarding specific case study procedures and techniques.

Results of a coordinated research effort, utilizing both demographic and case study methodology will be reviewed in the following paragraphs. The author is not suggesting that these are necessarily the only or best techniques for community and rural development research. This information is presented in order to provide examples of findings from investigations of this nature.

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[1] References include, Arensberg 1955, Sanders 1960, Simpson 1965, and Stein 1960.

[2] References include, Heckle, *et al.*, 1975; Martindale 1969; Murdock and Sutton 1974; Rojek, *et al.*, 1975; Sjoberg and Nett 1968; Summers, *et al.*, 1970, 1975; Warren 1972, 1973; and Wilkinson 1972.

CASE STUDY

Methodology utilized in case studies of 16 cities in Iowa, conducted in 1966, shall be reviewed in this section. Initially, 44 Iowa cities between 2,500 and 10,000 population were randomly selected from all the cities in the state in this category (not including those which were in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area). The sampling was stratified in regard to three sizes of place categories: 2,500 to 4,999; 5,000 to 7,499; and 7,500 to 9,999. The number of places selected for each of these subcategories was in proportion to the total number of places for each subcategory. These 44 cities were included in a larger study of demographic variables for incorporated places, 2,500-9,999 inhabitants.

A sub-sample of 16 cities was then selected with two sets of criteria in mind: population trends and age distribution. Twelve of the cities to be studied were selected by growth versus decline criteria: four cities in each of the three size categories (2,500-4,999, 5,000-7,499, and 7,500-9,999 population in 1960) were selected -- two which exhibited the greatest percentage gain in population, 1950-1960, and two which exhibited the greatest decline in population, 1950-1960. The cities were placed in quartiles, based on the median age of all residents of that city, the proportion of the population over 64 years of age, and the proportion less than 18 years of age. A city which was in the lowest quartile in regard to median age and proportion over 64 years of age, and the highest quartile in regard to proportion less than 18 years of age, could be termed a "young" city. A city which was in the highest quartile in regard to median age and proportion over 64 years of age, and the lowest quartile in regard to the proportion less than 18 years of age could be termed an "old" city. Some overlapping between the categorization schemes obviously occurred. The latter method of classification yielded four additional cities, one classified as young and three as old. Also, three cities were classified as both growing and "young," and five were both declining and "old," but no cities were in the decline and "young" nor the growing and "old" categories.

Informal, open-end interviews were conducted in these case studies. Four interviewers went in teams of two each to the 16 previously noted cities. Approximately ten respondents were interviewed in places 2,500-4,999 population; 15 respondents were interviewed in places 5,000-7,499; and 20 respondents in places 7,500-9,999. The interviewers "lived in" each city two to four days, depending upon the population (two days in places 2,500-4,999; three days in places 5,000-7,499; and four days in places 7,500-9,999).

The names of respondents were not obtained through a formula aimed at selecting a random sample of the entire community. Instead, an attempt was made to obtain the names of "community knowledgeables", but not individuals who were influential in either the formal or informal power structure of the community. These names were obtained from a variety of "informants" -- clergy, lawyers, businessmen, county home economics and agricultural extension personnel, and individuals who were influential in the formal or informal power structure. This latter category of influentials were not, in most cases, included as part of the sample of respondents. It was felt that such persons could not avoid providing biased information, depending upon their occupation or power position.

A random sample was not selected because it was felt that greater efficiency could be achieved by interviewing individuals who were conversant in regard to present situations and conditions in the community. The respondents were selected with specific representativeness guidelines in mind. The interviewers obtained at least one interview from individuals in each of the following age categories in each community: 15-18, 19-24, 25-44, 45-64, and over 64 years of age. More individuals in the over-64 category were interviewed in several communities in order to obtain additional information regarding the elderly. Also, several females and persons from several occupational and socio-economic levels were interviewed in each community. These variables, along with length of residence in the community, were tabulated for each respondent.

The interviews were conducted by undergraduate Iowa State University students who had social science backgrounds. It has previously been noted that the interviews were essentially open-end, but a specific outline was provided which the interviewers followed as closely as possible. This outline is presented in Appendix C. No rigid order of topics was followed by the interviewers because the respondent would often move from topic to topic as the interviewer asked questions. All respondents did not discuss all the topics on the outline, due to lack of knowledge, on their part, about some of the topics. The interviewers took brief notes during the discussions with the respondents, and immediately after each interview wrote a detailed report of the interview, basing their account on the outline, as much as possible.

These written narratives were then coded with respect to the characteristics of the respondent, to the outline topics, and to the city in which respondent resided. A total of 208 respondents were interviewed, the majority of which yielded relatively complete interviews.

FACTOR ANALYSIS

A total of 257 incorporated places between 2,500 and 10,000 population in the West-North Central region of the United States were included in the factor analytic study. The states comprising the West-North Central Region and the number of incorporated places 2,500-10,000 population in each state are as follows: Iowa, 65; Kansas, 38; Minnesota, 49; Missouri, 58; Nebraska, 28; South Dakota, 13; and North Dakota, 6 -- a sum of 257. Considerable attrition of places thus occurred from the 389 places existing in 1960, which resulted from data requirements. In order to utilize longitudinal and trend information the places had to exist in three census years -- 1900, 1950 and 1960. Attrition thus absorbed 119 places as a result of the 1950-1960 requirement and 13 additional places from the 1900 requirement. These observations were consequently sacrificed for considerable longitudinal and trend data.

A total of 77 variables were selected and a partial list of these variables is presented in Appendix A. The variables were obtained from censuses of Business (1954, 1958, 1963); Housing (1950, 1960); and Population (1900, 1950, 1960), and two separate lists of variables were formulated: An Analysis I matrix includes 15 proportional-change and 38 one-point-in-time variables, and an Analysis II matrix includes one proportional change variable and 59 one-point-in-time variables. Clusters for Analysis I were formulated by the author, and clusters were machine computed for Analysis II. Proportional-change and one-point-in-time data for the same variables cannot be included in the same analysis. Analysis I and Analysis II variables, derived in one or more fundamental variables, are listed in Appendix A. A complete list of the 77 variables may be obtained by writing to the author of this manuscript.

Four fundamental factors, including change variables and two additional fundamental factors, are derived from Analysis I variables and ten additional fundamental factors are derived from Analysis II variables. The entire structure of fundamental variables, numbered consecutively, and their definitive titles are: Factor 1, Growth; Factor 2, Change in Environment; Factor 3, Change in Economic Services; Factor 4, The Elderly; Factor 5, Age Composition; Factor 6, Educational Center; Factor 7, Socio-economic Level; Factor 8, Age of Community; Factor 9, Educational Attainment; Factor 10, Economic Services; Factor 11, Females in the Labor Force; Factor 12, Manufacturing; Factor 13, Housing Conditions; and Factors 14, 15, and 16 are migration factors, defined by age-specific migration rates. The factors and maximum of three variables included in each factor are presented in Appendix B. Only one variable is listed for those factors in which the highest loading was less than 60.

FINDINGS

The 16 communities included in the case study research were among those included in the factor analysis study of demographic variables. The case studies were conducted prior to the demographic analyses. The author realizes that demographic analyses should precede case studies in research of this nature.

The responses from the residents of the growth and decline communities have been summarized to form a profile for the two types of communities. The majority of the respondents from population growth communities indicated that the community has very few community aesthetic problems. This conclusion supplements the variable composition of several factors from the factor analytic structures, particularly the change variables. The majority of the respondents from population growth communities also indicated favorable attitudes toward their local government, streets and highways in the community, the local law enforcement agency, and the local hospital. A large proportion of the respondents from decline communities indicated that their community had many community aesthetic problems, however. Referring to the factor analytic structures, this conclusion supplements the factors indicating negative loadings on housing variables and particularly Factor 13, Housing Conditions. The majority of the respondents from population decline communities also indicated unfavorable attitudes toward their local government, government services, and offered constructive suggestions for local law enforcement.

The 16 communities were also dichotomized according to the age distribution of the population, termed "young" and "old." Referring again to the factor analytic structures, variables depicting the age distribution of the population are included in several factors and portray young and old characteristics as well. The responses from the residents of young and old communities may form a profile of the two types of communities. The majority of respondents from young communities associated community progress with the terms "growth" and "change," and indicated very few community aesthetic problems. The majority of respondents from these communities indicated favorable attitudes about their streets and highways and the local hospitals. The majority of respondents from the old communities associated community progress with industry and business which supplements Factor 12, Manufacturing. The majority of the respondents from these communities indicated unfavorable attitudes toward their streets and highways and the local hospital.

The 16 communities were categorized according to population size in 1960, also: six were 2,500-4,999 population; five were 5,000-7,499 population; and five were 7,500-9,999 population. Referring to the factor analytic structures, size was not a definitive variable in any factor. Variables indicating change in size criteria received high loadings in Factors 1, 2, and 4, however, and size variables received high loadings in Factor 10. The respondents from the smallest communities (2,500-4,999 population) were most likely to associate community progress with aesthetics and voluntary associations and indicated that their communities had few aesthetic problems; they believed that many of their peers were "backward" and that the aggregate community situation could be improved; they responded favorably toward streets and highways. The respondents from the mid-group of communities (5,000-7,499 population) were most likely to associate community progress with public services and noted few community aesthetic problems or problems with their peers; they believed that the aggregate community situation could be improved but responded favorably toward their local government and hospital. The respondents from the largest communities (7,500-9,999 population) were most likely to associate progress with governmental change; they indicated that their communities had many aesthetic problems; but that the aggregate community situation was satisfactory; they responded favorably toward their peers, unfavorably toward streets and highways and hospital, but favorably toward their local government. The population trend and age distribution classifications provided rather "polar type" profiles. The respondents from growth and young communities appear to be better off and are happier about it.

These conclusions are substantiated by the factor analytic results. Factor 1, "Growth" is comprised of variables indicating new dwelling units, high median family income, and other variables indicating affluence. Several factors comprise age distribution variables which are associated with socio-economic and housing condition variables. The decline and old communities appear to have more problems, residents respond accordingly, and this conclusion is substantiated by the factor analytic results. Factors and negatively loaded variables within factors reveal that decline and old communities are associated with poor housing conditions, low median income, and other declining socioeconomic indicators. Responses from the size of place categories reveal a more complex and probably more accurate picture of community life. Respondents from the two smaller community categories indicated satisfaction with their local government but dissatisfaction with the aggregate community situation. Respondents from the largest communities associate community progress with governmental change which may be interpreted as an awareness of urban alternatives and desire for change in that direction. These respondents also indicated that their communities had many aesthetic problems but they were satisfied with the aggregate community situation. It is suggested that residents of these communities overlook aesthetic problems when thinking of the aggregate community situation, because aesthetics are not essential for rudimentary economic activity.

IMPLICATIONS

Responses concerning community progress, from the case study reported here, may contribute to a paradigm for community and rural development. Respondents definitely sensed both the general demographic and quite specific economic characteristics of their communities. The findings suggest that community and rural development is dependent upon high quality of local government and of public services. This also substantiates the close tie between social indicators and the research reported here. Social indicators, of course, are derived from demographic data and contribute to quality of life indexes. Quality of life indexes suggest areas in which community and rural development efforts are appropriate.

Community aesthetics and voluntary associations may be merely passing concerns for many people. Awareness, on the part of community residents, of social and political conditions and of the need for a viable economic base, appears to be more acute in the larger communities than in the traditional rural areas. The question must be asked, then, do rural people really want community and rural development? The research results reported here suggests that the more sparsely populated rural counties and smaller communities probably do not. Development efforts should probably be initiated and implemented in the more urbane and larger communities.

CONCLUSIONS

The modest purposes of this paper were to briefly review demographic and case study methodology for community research, to present an example of one research effort, and to suggest implications for researching community and rural development topics. It is concluded that demographic and case study methodologies complement and supplement each other in research concerned with community and rural development. Demographic variables, determined relevant for development, are items revealing age distribution, socio-economic level, population trends (change in households, dwelling units, and population), time period when dwelling units were built, and migration. Case study generalizations indicated that these variables are indeed significant when determining chronological development of communities and for categorizing attitudes of community residents toward development. Researchers studying community and rural development topics should review their needs for case studies within respective research design efforts. Specific guidelines for case study methodology are needed. Findings from demographic analyses (inventories at the very least) will continue to be helpful. Pragmatic recommendations (see "IMPLICATIONS" section above) for community and rural development will result.

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APPENDIX A

Demographic Variables in More Than One Factor and Mean Loadings (signs dropped)

Variables	Mean Loading
Analysis I:	
Change in population from 1950 to 1960	.67
Percent of 1950 population 65 years of age and over	.49
*Percent of 1960 population under 18 years of age	.39
*Percent of 1960 population 65 years of age and over	.55
Median family income, 1960	.43
Percent of families with less than $3,000 income, 1960	.39
Percent of families with $10,000-plus income, 1960	.30
Median years of schooling of 25 years and older population, 1960	.48
*Percent change in households from 1950 to 1960	.70
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 15-19 years of age	.37

APPENDIX A (Continued)

Variables	Mean Loading
Analysis I:	
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 20-24 years of age	.37
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 25-29 years of age	.47
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 40-44 years of age	.48
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 45-49 years of age	.45
Change in number of dwelling units from 1950 to 1960	.63
Change in median number of rooms per dwelling unit, 1950-1960	.43
Change in value of dwelling units from 1950 to 1960	.31
Percent of dwelling units built from 1950 to 1960	.65
Change in retail establishments from 1958 to 1963	.31
Analysis II:	
1900 population	.39
Percent of females 14 years of age and older in labor force, 1950	.32
Nonworker ratio, 1960	.45
Median family income, 1950	.55
Percent of families with less than $2,000 income, 1950	.11
Median years of schooling of 25 years and older population, 1950	.49
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 30-34 years of age	.59
Population per dwelling unit, 1960	.43
Population per dwelling unit, 1950	.38
Median rooms per dwelling unit, 1960	.50
Median rooms per dwelling unit, 1950	.48
Median rent, 1960	.43
Median rent, 1950	.55
Median value dwelling units, 1950	.55
Percent of dwelling units dilapidated, 1960	.40
Percent of dwelling units deteriorating, 1960	.42
Percent of dwelling units built before 1940	.57
Percent of structures with only one unit, 1960	.38
Percent of structures with more than four units, 1960	.39

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* Variable in more than three factors.

APPENDIX B

Factor Analytic Structures

Factor I - Growth

Variable	Loading
Change in number of households from 1950 to 1960	.77
Change in number of dwelling units from 1950 to 1960	.75
Change in total population from 1950 to 1960	.74

Factor 2 - Change in Environment

Variable	Loading
Percent of dwelling units built before 1940	-.94
Change in population from 1900 to 1960	.68
Percent of 1950 population 65 years of age and over	-.66

Factor 3 - Change in Economic Services

Variable	Loading
Change in retail sales from 1958 to 1963	.72
Change in retail payroll from 1958 to 1963	.64
Change in retail establishments from 1954 to 1958	-.40

Factor 4 - The Elderly

Variable	Loading
Percent of 1960 population 65 years of age and over	.48

Factor 5 - Age Composition

Variable	Loading
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 65-69 years of age	.91
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 70-74 years of age	.84
Net migration, 1950-1960 population 60-64 years of age	.65
Factor 6 - Education Center	
Median years of schooling of 25 years and older population, 1950	.70
Median years of schooling of 25 years and older population, 1960	.62
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 15-19 years of age	.35
Factor 7 - Socioeconomic Level	
Percent of families with less than $3,000 income, 1959	-.84
Median family income, 1960	.79
Median value of dwelling units, 1950	.79
Factor 8 - Age of Community	
Percent of population 65 years of age and over, 1950	-.79
Percent of dwelling units built from 1950 to 1960	.76
Percent of dwelling units built before 1940	-.76
Factor 9 - Educational Attainment	
Median years of schooling of 25 years of age and older population, 1950	.57
Factor 10 - Economic Services	
Retail sales, 1950	.94
Retail sales, 1963	.94
Retail payroll, 1963	.93
Factor 11 - Females in the Labor Force	
Percent of females 14 years of age and older in labor force, 1960	.70
Percent of females 14 years of age and older in labor force, 1950	.60
Nonworker - worker ratio, 1960	-.50
Factor 12 - Manufacturing	
Percent of employed persons in manufacturing, 1950	.91
Percent of employed persons in manufacturing, 1960	.89
Median rent per dwelling unit, 1950	-.38
Factor 13 - Housing Conditions	
Percent of dwelling units deteriorating, 1960	.49
Factor 14 - Migration A	
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 30-34 years of age	.77
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 10-14 years of age	.76
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 40-44 years of age	.74
Factor 15 - Migration B	
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 15-19 years of age	.94
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 20-24 years of age	.93
Median family income	-.50
Factor 16 - Migration C	
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 50-54 years of age	-.76
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 55-59 years of age	-.74
Net migration, 1950-1960, population 45-49 years of age	-.37

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW OUTLINE

1966 Study of 16 Iowa Communities

1. Notion of Progressiveness

Has the population of your city lost, gained or remained about the same during the past ten years?

Communities, towns, or cities, may gain or decline in other ways also. This is related to the notion of "progress." What is your conception of "progress," "progressive" (as a progressive community) and measures of "progressiveness?"

Gain or progress, loss or decline, may be evaluated in terms of institutions of communities. Some of these are:

Government: Is your city government of good quality? Honest, dependable, competent, etc.?

Services: Are the services provided by your city government adequate? Streets, sidewalks, parks, park benches, police protection, fire protection, trash disposal, sewerage?

Cooperative agencies: County government (law enforcement, highways, etc.): county, state and federal (welfare, employment service, agricultural and home economics extension, etc.)?

Education: Does the community have good schools? Elementary, high school, perhaps junior college or vocation-technical schools?

Business: Does the community have good business places? If it has industry is this good for the community?

Health services: Does the community have enough doctors, dentists? A hospital?

The people: In general, are the people a credit to the community? Are they good citizens?

Aesthetics or appearance of the community: Is the community pleasant to look at?

Summary of Services: What is the role of all these categories in your impression of the community? Do they help or hinder? Do they contribute to progress, to decline, or keep things static?

Aggregate: Taking everything into consideration, what do you think of your community? going downhill? static? progressive? Do you think it is a good place to live? Have you thought of moving from your community? Would you leave if you had an opportunity to do so (job and place to live, elsewhere)?

2. Consumption Function

What services are lacking that should be established? What is the social pattern of shopping? Is there a personal basis of shopping?

3. Economic Function

How would you describe the economic base of the community? What is the primary economic function? How does the town serve the surrounding countryside? Has the primary function changed over time?

APPENDIX C (Continued)

4. Occupational Diversity

What do most people do for a living? Could you classify occupational groups and rank in order of number in each group? Do occupations have visible signs such as dress? Could you tell a farmer, a businessman if you didn't know? Is any occupational group dominant?

5. Age Grading

Is there residential segregation by age? Is there age clustering by activity? Are certain places "hangouts" for youth? For older people? Can age groups be distinguished in any way? By dress? By manner?

6. Class, Cliques

Is there a recognizable class system in this town? Could you describe it? Do marriages tend to follow class lines? Is church membership associated with class lines? Are there any issues which divide groups of people? What are they? What groups?

7. Social Control

Informal vs. formal: How are infractions of the law handled? Does the law enforcement official just speak to the parents, in case of juveniles (informal), or are formal procedures always followed (suspect is booked, case taken through judicial proceedings, etc.)?

Do members of the several socio-economic levels "know their place"? Examples: certain organizations, clubs, facilities, and activities for certain persons?

Some behavior condoned or not condoned, depending upon the person who is doing the acting? Example: speeding ticket "taken care of" for some, not others?

8. Mutual Support

Are there any examples of community action in time of personal disasters? Will the community rally to support someone who has suffered a loss? Do people hold to pretty much the same values -- or is divergence noticeable? Do age groups help one another out? Do elderly people do one another a good turn?

9. Socialization Function

Is this town a good place to raise kids? Are the school and community well integrated? Do commercial and business interests give support to the school systems? Are school children welcomed downtown?

10. Recreation

What leisure and recreation activities do you engage in? What leisure and recreation activities are available in your community? Are these adequate? Do a lack of leisure and recreation activities deem the community as unfavorable?

11. Pace of Life -- Round of Activities

Daily round? What time of day is most noisy? Who would you see on the streets at noon, 3:00 p.m., 6:00 p.m., 9:00 p.m., midnight, 3:00 a.m.? What is the flow of activity? Stores open, close, factory shifts?

Weekly round? Noticeable weekend? Difference in pace on Sunday?

Seasonal round? Difference in activity during seasons? Emphasis on holidays? Which holidays?

Does pace differ from, say, Dubuque? Another town this size?

If walking downtown at noon, how many people would you likely meet who you would recognize?

APPENDIX C (Continued)

12. Inter-Community Relations

Do you travel to any nearby towns or cities? How often? What for? (economic services, medical, relatives, etc.) Do the purposes of such trips contribute to the rivalry between the cities? To the cooperation?

Is there any rivalry between your city and any other (nearby) towns or cities? What is the nature of this rivalry?

Does your city cooperate with any other nearby towns or cities (schools, parks, celebrations, etc.)?

AN APPLICATION OF THE RECONNAISSANCE METHOD IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A SNYTHESIS OF FUNCTIONS

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Introduction

This paper deals with one case study of a community development technique currently being employed in a select number of Georgia communities. The community social analysis survey, using the reconnaissance sampling method, was developed by Sanders at Kentucky and modified by Nix for use in Georgia. The surveys have been conducted for several years and plans call for the continuation of this type of survey in the future. Various departments and units of the university system have been involved in planning, conducting, and evaluating the surveys; people who have participated represent the University of Georgia's Department of Sociology and Anthropology, the Georgia Center of Continuing Education, the Institute of Community and Area Development, the Cooperative Extension Service, as well as faculty and staff from a number of junior and senior colleges throughout Georgia.

In its purest form, the reconnaissance method is an attempt to bring the teaching, research, and service components of the university into a more meaningful relationship especially as they relate to community development. Unquestionably, such a technique provides significant insight into social changes and a deeper understanding of the processes involved in community and rural development. The following case represents a modification of the reconnaissance method as it was used in one Georgia county.

The Case in Point

Hart County lies in the northeastern section of Georgia approximately 100 miles from Atlanta and is situated in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. The county's population was estimated to be 16,661 in 1975; Hartwell, the county's largest population center and seat of government, had an estimated 5,109 residents in 1975. Although agriculture continues to provide a significant impact on the local economy, a majority of the county's work force is employed in auto equipment manufacturing and textile related industries located in Hartwell. In addition, a significant number of residents commute to industrial jobs in nearby Anderson, South Carolina. Mean per capita income in Hart County is $3,746 a year.

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Lake Hartwell, a 56,000 acre man-made lake, lies to the east of the county and forms a boundary between the county and the state of South Carolina. This large recreational area is within easy access of metropolitan Atlanta via an Interstate highway. The presence of the lake and the development associated with it has made a tremendous impact on the character of this traditionally rural oriented county.

Citizens are earnestly concerned with the future of the county and what it will be like in years to come. This concern is reflected in the work of a few civic minded individuals who saw a need to develop a more systematic approach to community development in the county.

Planning the Survey

A small group of approximately 10 community leaders met in the county library in March, 1976, to discuss strategies of increasing community involvement and providing a better sense of direction for the county's overall development. Extension Community Development Specialists from the University were invited to attend. Many ideas were discussed and it was finally suggested that a county survey might be a viable first step in developing a meaningful community development program. Community Development Specialists explained what a survey could and could not do, its basic intents and purposes, and its possibilities for providing relevant information. One Community Development Specialist offered his assistance in supporting the group's efforts to conduct the survey.

The group agreed that the purpose of the survey would be to:

1. Generate interest in the county
2. Focus attention on community problems and needs
3. Find out what people thought about the county
4. Provide useful information to local people in making future community development plans

It was the general feeling of the group that interviewers should be from outside the county. The reconnaissance method survey, using university staff, was suggested as an appropriate type of survey technique and the group agreed to its usage. The group also discussed sponsorship of the survey and agreed to seek support from the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Chamber of Commerce, and the University through the County Extension Office.

A larger group of local citizens assembled a few weeks later to decide on a name for their community development effort. Numerous suggestions had already been compiled, as the local media had solicited initial support for the project and requested assistance in selecting a name. Written suggestions were reviewed and group members had their own opinions as well. Finally, it was decided that the project would be called "Hartwell-Hart County: Operation Awareness" therein explicitly defining its intent to create a better understanding of county problems and implicitly working to develop a base for a sustained community development effort.

Representatives of the sponsoring organizations began to meet on a continuing basis with the Community Development Specialist as the mechanics of the reconnaissance method survey were worked out.

A panel of sponsor representatives compiled a listing of fifteen broadly representative county leaders, or internal knowledgeables. These knowledgeables were carefully selected to reflect the social, economic, racial and geographical characteristics of the county. The fifteen knowledgeables were written and subsequently visited by the sponsors of "Operation Awareness" to enlist their support for the survey and to suggest names of persons whom they considered leaders under about fifteen subject areas (i.e. business, education, recreation, blacks, women, etc.). From the suggestions of this panel of internal knowledgeables, a list was compiled of nearly 150 reputational leaders (persons reputed to be leaders).

From the list of reputational leaders and from a separate listing of positional leaders (persons occupying elected or appointed positions) a final pool of 100 leaders was selected. Each of the individuals included in this pool was contacted to set up a time for the personal interview.

The questionnaire itself was developed to accommodate all of the suggestions made by local leaders. Both closed and open-ended responses were included in the survey instrument. Approximately 50 questions were included in the questionnaire, and it was pre-tested with representatives of the sponsoring organizations.

Conducting the Interviews

Interviews were conducted during the week of July 4 to encourage participation and complement a number of other civic activities. A conveniently located Protestant Church served as the interview site. Community leaders came in at a pre-arranged time; the interviews themselves averaged about one hour. Of the 100 leaders contacted, 87 were personally interviewed in this manner.

Summary of the Results

The top ten ranked needs as expressed by survey respondents are included in the following table.

TABLE I. TOP TEN NEEDS IDENTIFIED BY RESPONDENTS

Rank	Need	Total Weighted Score*
1	More industry	98
2	**Improve the water system	89
3	Improve roads and highways	89
4	Need a professional county manager	60
5	Need for medical doctors	58
6	Improve fiscal management of city and county government	56
7	Improve fire protection	54
8	Increase availability of good housing	48
9	Improve quality of education	47
10	Need for a more united effort to improve life in the county	46

As one can see from the above table, a majority of the identified needs and problems relate to the provision of basic goods and services, or what Nix et. al. have called "exchange" needs. Only the 4th, 6th and 10th ranked items refer to more abstract or "coordinative" needs. These findings agree with previous research in that basic exchange needs tend to be expressed by community leaders in small rural communities more than coordinative ones.

As a general category, government and politics had the largest number of expressed problems and needs associated with it; sixty-five specific responses related to this subject area. The least mentioned category included eight problems associated with environmental issues.

Respondents expressed a genuine concern for the long term development of the county and volunteered their opinions in open-ended questions on industrial development, agriculture, and land use. Generally, respondents expressed conservative approaches to development although they identified industry as the greatest single need.

Outcomes of the Survey

As with nearly any genuine community development effort, meaningful evaluations of Hart County's "Operation Awareness" may not be ascertainable for a number of years and depend, in large part, upon what is done in the near future. However, there may be at least some indications that the survey may have provided for a more sustained community development effort.

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*Weighted scores were derived from the relative rankings of problems and needs expressed by the respondents. If a respondent ranked a particular problem or need as #1, then a weighted score of six points was given; #2, a weighted score of five points; #3, a weighted score of four, #4, a weighted score of three; #5, a weighted score of two; #6 or above, a weighted score of one. In this manner, a total weighted score was ascertainable for expressed problems and needs.

**Equal weight with next weighted score but mentioned more often.

After the survey data was analyzed and made public, the sponsors of "Operation Awareness" arranged a meeting of approximately 30 civic and local governmental leaders. The results of the survey were discussed in depth and it was suggested that something should be done to fully utilize the survey. It was suggested that a county-wide meeting be held to address the top identified problems and provide a forum for citizens to express their opinions on relevant issues; thus, this carefully selected group of 30 civic and governmental leaders functioned as a steering committee in determining the basic structure and format of the public meet.

Late in September a county-wide public meeting was held and well over 200 local influentials and leaders attended. Through the efforts of the steering committee and the Community Development Specialist some twenty-five resource people participated in the meeting, including representatives of local government, the Area Planning and Development Commission (Council of Government), State Departments of Transportation, Natural Resources, and Industry and Trade, the Medical Association of Georgia, and faculty and staff from the University's Community and Rural Development Task Force and the Institute of Government.

There is no question that "Operation Awareness" has provided rich opportunities for a continuing community development program in Hart County. Already, educational programs are being planned to investigate specific need areas and local government officials are working to improve the county's current situation. "Operation Awareness" has generated a sincere interest in the development of the county, provided a broad based community development activity, and has provided relevant information for local governmental officials, community groups and civic leaders, as well as developed a better link between local people and external resources. To this extent, "Operation Awareness" has been successful.

Conclusion

The community social analysis survey using the reconnaissance method does not in itself constitute community development. In the case discussed here, it was used simply as a technique of fostering a community centered activity that provided an opportunity to put community development principles to work and to develop an ongoing process of planning-prioritizing-acting-evaluating for growth and delineating the use of resources, both internal and external, in dealing with community problems. Further, it provides those of us interested in community and rural development with a greater appreciation of the survey technique and the impact of social change on communities.

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DEFINITIONS OF HOUSING SITUATIONS: OUTSIDERS vs. INSIDERS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES*

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ABSTRACT

According to testimony before Congress and based upon research of the First National Rural Housing Conference (House of Representatives, 1972), two-thirds of the substandard housing in the U.S. is in small towns and rural areas, although those same areas contain only 30% of the population. This announcement has been received with much skepticism which tends to reflect the nature of social belief when a fact is revealed which runs contrary to the "commonsense" of the community. As a result the housing need in small towns and rural areas goes largely unmet.

Studies on quality of housing and conditions are quite deficient. Yet housing goals and policy are still being established and executed on some basis. The focus on housing in this paper stems from our interest and research in community satisfaction (Deseran, _et al_, 1976; Deseran and Stokley, 1976). Recent research in this area suggests that community satisfaction offers a potential conceptual bridge between objective and subjective indicators of social reality as it relates to housing (i.e., Rojek _et al_, 1975; Marans and Rodgers, 1975; Campbell _et al_, 1976).

Agreeing with Marcuse's (1971) concern with the inadequacy of current indicators of housing, we have explored some of these difficulties in our own research. Our findings although not conclusive, allow us to make some suggestions about the relationships between objective and subjective aspects of housing.

The data for this research was gathered during the summer of 1976 from two communities in Southern Louisiana. Heads of households or their spouses were interviewed. The sample was derived by dividing both communities into equal population segments in order to obtain a 50% sample of households in the smaller community and a 25% sample in the larger community. In addition to the survey questionnaire, a pictorial survey of the houses of the respondents was conducted. This technique focused on the condition of housing in order to provide additional data and knowledge based on relatively structured and objective criteria. Evaluations of the houses provided a mean score for each dwelling, producing an "objective" housing scale.

Preliminary analysis of the data provided several categories of factors potentially related to housing evaluation. The categories of variables derived were: 1) Subjective housing satisfaction 2) Outsider housing ratings 3) Objective housing characteristics 4) Resident characteristics and 5) Other subjective evaluations.

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Briefly some of our findings are presented. One finding suggests that certain objective indicators can be confidently associated with physical characteristics of housing. The data supports the argument that outsider assessments of housing conditions may not necessarily result in accurate imputations of subjective resident responses to housing condition. The data pertaining to individual characteristics provide some interesting findings. Age, apparently has little effect on the outwardly appearing condition of residences. This suggests that as one gets older satisfaction with one's dwelling increases regardless of the outward appearance. Income and education do not appear to effect resident assesments of their housing situation, but are related to the outward appearance of the residence. Sex did not make a difference in perceptions of housing and reported satisfaction with housing. It should be noted that there was a general tendency for all subjects to be satisfied with their homes - 53% of all respondents indicated that they were "very satisfied" with their homes. Race also had a bearing on a subjective indicator of satisfaction with housing as to whether or not residents would move to a better dwelling if one were provided. Also the data suggests that one's satisfaction with dwelling potentially influences one's satisfaction with communtiy services and social environment. However, satisfaction with physical environment does not seem to be influenced. It is possible that these findings are related to the unique aspects of the communities physical setting. Preliminary findings suggest the possibility that housing is correlated to community satisfaction but not to evaluations of family situation.

Analysis of the findings discussed here is still under way. However, our preliminary assessment of the data indicates that objective indicators of housing conditions do not necessarily correspond to resident subjective reactions to housing. If one of the goals of housing policy is to enhance citizen quality of life, it is apparent that simple objective measures of housing quality are insufficient. Although at the present time the development of generalizable indicators of housing quality seems distant, there are several general observations which may help us move in that direction. First, we should develop a set of complementary indicators based both on objective and subjective criteria. Second, our indicators should be quantifiable to the degree that they can be repeated with relative confidence of reliability. Third, any set of indicators should be sensitive to particular groupings of persons for whom housing has a particular impact. Finally, our methodologies should allow detection of trends or potential future problems.

The South Carolina Title V Program in Perspective: Three Models of Purposive Change*

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The South Carolina Title V Program in Perspective
Three Models of Purposive Change

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Introduction

As any rural community development advocate, practitioner, or researcher is well aware, the question of "What is rural community development?" has yet to be laid to rest. Efforts too numerous to mention have attempted to define it, among other things, in terms of a process, a social movement, a method, or a program (ECOP, 1966: 11). We are still attempting to come up with broadly acceptable definitions of the individual terms "rural", "community", and "development", complicated by the numerous disciplines and government agencies with vested interests in particular operational definitions.

In our experience with county-level Extension professionals and other change agents, municipal and county officials, and voluntary citizens groups with limited experience or training in rural community development, we have found that a formal definition of community development is not important. What is important is how to recognize opportunities to improve the general level of well-being for the citizens of a given locale through collective effort. Secondly, resource agencies are interested in guidelines which help them choose the appropriate role to play at a given point in time in the progress of a change effort and the type and timing of informational inputs and assistance.

While simplistic distinctions between "task accomplishment" and "structure development" (Cartwright and Zander, 1968: 304-314) are necessary and useful, they are not adequate for the types of needs of the practitioners mentioned earlier. Also, the delineation of process phases represented by Beal and Hobbs (1969), Bennett and Nelson (1975), ECOP Task Force (1975: 24), Jacob, et al.(1975: 5-9), and Warren (1963: 315-320), do not answer many of the questions raised by the local practitioners who need some applicable guidelines. Some of these models (Beal and Hobbs, 1969, as an example) become confusing by attempting to be all-encompassing and thereby suggest no less than fifteen "steps", each a detailed process in itself.

These previous efforts represent worthwhile contributions; however, we feel that there is a definite need to facilitate an interplay of ideas concerning rural community development between highly abstract attempts at theory building, case study efforts, simplistic categorization of the types of tasks involved in purposive change, and recipe-book type approaches as discussed above. This interplay must take place in an environment supportive of interdisciplinary efforts.

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Drawing on some ideas developed in the field of social work, we will attempt to demonstrate the utility of a classification scheme which identified three ideal types of social action as applied to community issues. In reference to each ideal type, condensed case study materials describing decisions and activities surrounding a specific issue in the target county of the Title V (Rural Development Act of 1972) Project in South Carolina will be presented and subsequent discussion will deal with the appropriateness of various types of resource agency inputs under varying situational contexts.

It is hoped that this effort will lead to a further refinement of ideas and elaboration of research efforts in a direction which will facilitate their utility by practitioners.

Rothman's Ideal Types

Social workers, planners and community development specialists, along with sociologists, have attempted to construct all-embracing schemes of community development practice.[1] Such schemes rarely approach the grand level that their authors claim. Each attempt has generally defined development practice in rather narrow, discipline-bound conceptual frameworks. Most have failed to recognize that there is no one method of development practice, but that any of several methods may be applicable. However, each can contribute to a synthesis of ideas, one which can yield a guide for practitioners.

We propose that the method to use, or the role for practitioners to perform at any particular time, should depend upon the historical and situational context of the development issue as well as the organizational goals of the development group or agency represented by the practitioner. In this section we present a scheme that recognizes the diversity of roles and organization goals in community development practice. Later we will attempt to demonstrate by case study the applicability of this scheme for community practitioners, using the concepts of historical/situational context and organizational goals of development groups.

Three general practitioner roles associated with three ideal types of purposive change can be outlined (Rothman, 1970: 24-25), each useful in particular historical/situational contexts and with certain organizational goal structures. These general roles are not intended to cover all situations, but will be used to develop action guidelines for practitioners. In the model of change labeled "locality development" by Rothman, the practitioner role likely to emerge could be labeled encourager or enabler. In this role the practitioner facilitates the process of problem-solving, encourages the organization of community groups, and aids in the development of good interpersonal relations. Rothman points out that in this role the practitioner is geared "to the creation or manipulation of small task-oriented groups, and he requires skill in guiding processes of collaborative problem-finding and problem solving" (1970: 10). This practitioner role is typified by community work in adult education, Peace Corps, and the Cooperative Extension Service.

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[1] Taking soical work and the rural community development component of Cooperative Extension as examples, we note a tendency toward convergence in terms of defining the process of community development and role of the development agency (see ECOP, 1966: 2 for an example of the Extension definition and Grosser, 1973 for an example of recent orientation in social work). At the same time, Extension generally utilizes the concept "development" and social work the concept "organization."

Under the "social planning" model of purposive change the general practitioner role may be termed fact-gatherer or program analyst. Here the practitioner acts as "expert", he diagnoses community problems and provides information, technical assistance, advice on methods or organization and procedure, and collects and analyzes data. Emphasis is placed on providing technical information for decisions directly relating to the task at hand rather than on attempting to influence the process of how decisions are made. Examples of this role predominate in Councils of Government, regional planning commissions and various federal, state, and local bureaus and departments.

Rothman's "social action" model presupposes a disadvantages subgroup that views its interests in direct conflict with those of privileged subgroups. According to Rothman, the general practitioner role likely to emerge in this case is characterized by activities of such groups as Congress on Racial Equality, labor unions, welfare rights organizations, and political action groups. The practitioner functions as an activist or agitator. According to Rothman (1970: 11), this role entails "the organization of client groups to act on behalf of their interests in a pluralistic community arena. The practitioner gears himself to creating and manipulating mass organizations and movements and to influencing political processes." The client groups are generally those with few resources, largely disenfranchised within American society.

Application to Local Issues

Details of the Title V pilot project in South Carolina have been presented earlier (Jacob, 1976; Jacob *et al.*, 1975; and Wynn and Jacob, 1976). In summary, research and extension efforts were concentrated in one rural, low income county in the southeastern part of the state, with personnel associated with the project located both in the county and on the Clemson University campus. With the close familiarity of local issues gained through day-to-day contact, we were able to identify specific issues in the Title V county that approximated each of the three ideal types presented by Rothman and historically document the role that the Clemson University Cooperative Extension Service played in each case over a two and one-half year period of time. After comparing the role played by Extension professionals with guidelines extrapolated from Rothman's typologies, judgemental statements will be made concerning the utility of Rothman's schema for assisting community development practitioners in making key decisions relating to the appropriateness of various types of roles at selected points during the "life" of a community issue. Rothman goes one step further by stating that a given community issue can change over time in a manner to accommodate various practitioner roles.

The issue chosen to typify Rothman's "locality development," in which the practitioner plays a process consultant -- encourager, enabler, or facilitator -- role was the development of a county-wide comprehensive rural fire protection program. Outside the corporate limits of the several towns with municipal fire departments, fire protection for residents of the county is virtually non-existent. This means that approximately 85 percent of the county's residents pay maximum insurance rates and have no publicly provided protection of life and property in case of a residential fire. Numerous brick chimneys standing alone can be spotted throughout the county where once-present homes were burned to the ground because there was no fire protection program existent in the unincorporated areas. The need to do something is clearly documented by these remnants of burned-out residences. Several locally elected officials had looked into the matter but resigned themselves to inaction for the time being when their inquiries led to a realization of the potential costs of a county-wide system.

Being aware of efforts to improve rural fire protection in surrounding counties, Extension personnel first gathered information concerning what had been done and the approaches utilized in those areas. Second, elected officials and other persons whose names were mentioned when rural fire protection had been discussed were contacted to capitalize on their experience. The endorsement of the county government and local planning bodies was sought and obtained. Third, information on the topic was provided to the general public through a series of radio programs and newspaper articles designed to create a greater awareness of the problem. Several public meetings were held in which interested residents had an opportunity to ask questions of persons with experience in establishing rural fire departments in other counties. Concurrent with these developments, the multi-county COG published a regional fire protection study which documented the problem and provided specific cost and benefit data. After information from this report was summarized and presented to the general public, the County Planning Commission organized a county-wide rural fire protection study committee.

A county-wide problem identification survey, while not focusing specifically on the fire protection issue, contributed to the enabler-facilitator role played by Extension personnel. Out of some twenty-five suggested topics, fire protection was the most frequently mentioned problem area among residents in the unincorporated areas of the county.

In summary, the need for improved fire protection in the rural areas was clearly established. The task of providing substantive information to local residents was undertaken by the multi-county COG. Although Extension personnel also contributed to the fact-gathering phase by conducting the county-wide opinion (problem identification) survey, the effort on this issue was to first provide information to a large segment of the general public and second, to facilitate interaction and the flow of information between citizens groups on one hand and the planning bodies and elected officials on the other.

At present, a local Citizens Grassroots Participation Committee with broad county-wide representation has selected rural fire protection as one of the five priority issues for the county and has gone on record as fully supporting the implementation of a county-wide fire protection program. It seems likely that within the next year the county government will set up an advisory referendum to allow the general tax-paying public to voice their opinion concerning the establishment of a county-wide program of rural fire protection.

As indicated previously, the primary practitioner role under Rothman's "social planning" change typology is that of fact-gatherer and analyst with regard to task goals, those relating to specific community problems. In other words, the emphasis is primarily on task versus process goals. To exemplify this issue we will draw on our experience in responding to a request for assistance in exploring alternatives for establishing a county-wide human services campus. The proposed campus would house the Health Department, the Department of Social Services, Mental Health Clinic, Vocational Rehabilitation office, and the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission -- all within walking distance of the County Hospital. Upon receipt of this request in late 1974, contacts were initiated with the agencies mentioned, local planning commissions, the multi-county COG and the County Health Commission. Although there was general agreement concerning the need to facilitate interaction among agencies with health care related services, to ease the referral effort, and to facilitate transportation, there was little sound information on which to base plans for action. As a consequence, the appropriate role of the Extension staff seemed to be that of fact-gatherer and analyst.

Over a period of approximately ten months, Clemson University Extension and research staff, with assistance from an architectural consultant firm, collected information and prepared a planning report which provided specific details concerning the function of each agency and the interrelationship of those functions, as well as alternative strategies for developing a human services campus. Potential costs and benefits were set forth in general terms by the prepared report. Next, the finished report was presented to groups and agencies that had been involved in the initial planning stages. This presentation resulted in the establishment of a planning committee of representatives of each of the five agencies to be included in the campus and the Executive Director of the County Development Board. The group was vested with the responsibility of studying the feasibility of implementing the ideas presented. Pending a request from the committee for continued assistance, Extension personnel will resume the process consultant role of promoting interagency cooperation and taking the idea back to the general population for their endorsement and renewed support. The aim of such a human services campus being broad in scope, involving at least six different agencies, public interest and support has been slow in forming in comparison with the evolution of such support for the previously mentioned program of rural fire protection.

To typify Rothman's "social action" model of planned change we choose the issue of providing adequate community services and facilities to a densely populated minority neighborhood. This community has a population of some 900 persons and is located adjacent to the corporate limits of a virtually all-white town of approximately 1,000. County-wide, the population is slightly over 60 percent black, yet in this town the proportion black is less than four percent (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973: 83). These statistics would suggest that the town has unwritten policies which have led to the exclusion of the minority areas from consideration for annexation.

The minority community has inadequate street lighting, unpaved streets, poor drainage, access to city water but no sewage, and a high incidence of inadequate and dilapidated housing. Problems faced by residents of the community have been aggravated over the past several years when the local health department began to enforce regulations dealing with the utilization of individual septic tanks in areas of poor drainage. For the past five years the community has been "condemned" by the health department -- no new homes or businesses can be built and no permits can be issued to install septic tanks or even "privies".

When the Extension staff in the county became aware of the problem, it was obvious that the people of the minority community were discontent but there was little evidence to indicate that a collective approach had been taken. Several of the community leaders had individually approached the town council but were inevitably told that the town could not afford to annex the area and provide all of the needed services. This was interpreted as a brush-off by the minority community's spokesmen and led to further frustration and discontent. Extension personnel on several occasions met with persons from the minority community and with the mayor and town council of the adjoining town. These meetings were used to examine each point of view and to determine the extent of substantive communication between the two groups. Extension personnel decided to work closely with local newspapers, the health department, and the multi-county COG to further document and publicize the needs of the community. A series of articles appeared in local newspapers and a voluntary participation Community Development Council was formed in the community to gather information concerning possible alternatives to solving the problem.

After receiving legal advice, the Community Development Council indicated a petition requesting annexation and the petition was subsequently presented to the town council. At that point, the town council was obligated by law to formally respond to the petition within a specified period of time. For advice, the town council called on representatives of an engineering consulting firm to provide cost estimates of expanding the water and sewer facilities to serve the area requesting annexation. A town manager of a nearby town and professional planners from the multi-county COG were called on to meet with the town council on several occasions in order to assist the council in exploring possible alternatives for responding to the request for annexation. The town council then decided to proceed with a vote of annexation.

A public hearing attended by residents of the community and the town has been held with various resource persons from the consulting firm and the COG present. In the recent vote for annexation -- with the persons in the community and the incorporated town polled separately, residents of the minority community voted overwhelmingly in favor of annexation; however, annexation was rejected by the town's voters. Since a majority of each group must vote in favor for the mandate of annexation to be established, annexation will not take place. Recent information from the community suggests that a boycott of local businesses is being planned in protest to the outcome of the vote.

Utility of Ideal Types

As Rothman (1970: 2) puts so aptly, " . . . in empirical reality there are different forms of community organization practice and at this stage in the development of practice theory it would be better to capture and describe these rather than to attempt to establish a grand, all-embracing theory or conception. The implication is that we should speak of community organization methods rather than the community organization method."[2] As we suggested earlier, the practitioner's role depends upon the goals of his agency or group and, within the limits of organizational goals, upon the historical and situational context of the development issue.

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[2] As noted earlier, the Cooperative Extension Service generally utilizes the term "development" in describing its community-related educational progress whereas social work prefers "organization". Suffice it to say at this point that there is greater agreement than disagreement between social work and Cooperative Extension concerning the general goals and appropriate role of the development agency to warrant a closer working relationship.

Returning to the descriptive information presented in the previous section, we can observe that the practitioner role of the Extension personnel varied considerably depending upon the situational context and developmental stage of the issue in question. Some observations gleaned from our experience deserve more careful examination. In the instance of rural fire protection, (Rothman's "locality development" type) the role of Extension personnel ranged from emphasis initially on the gathering and dissemination of information to efforts to involve and inform the general public and establish a communication network that would facilitate decisions and action. From this point on, the Extension role will be to some degree maintenance of established citizens committees and continuing to provide, directly or via other resource agencies, specific information for decision-making to key groups and individuals. Extension involvement in the rural fire protection issue represents a reasonable approximation to the process orientation mandate for Extension CRD[3] provided by the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (1966: 2).

In the case of the human services campus, the primary role throughout was that of fact-gathering and analyzing for decision-making. More than in the previous case there was a rather distinct starting and final step in terms of Extension involvement. Until a firm commitment is made to commit resources to the development of the campus, Extension involvement will be limited to first, periodically providing information concerning alternative sources of funding for such a facility and second, determining whether the study committee needs organizational assistance or orientation in carrying out its job.

The issue of providing community services and facilities to the low-income black community, chosen to approximate Rothman's "social action" type, allowed us to observe a situation in which the assumed predominant practitioner role of activist-agitator was in direct contrast with the mandated role of the Clemson Extension professionals involved. We observed that there was virtually no substantive communication taking place between representatives of the town on one hand and the black community on the other. Furthermore, once we showed sincere interest in the issue, each faction attempted to use Extension personnel as a means for communicating with the other group. While on a limited scale we did attempt to relay information between the two groups, we had to repeatedly remind the key persons that we could not play an advocacy role. By working through the mass media, we assisted in bringing to the public attention the problems and needs of the community and at the same time document the action being taken by the town council in response to this information. As part of that phase we also provided contacts for representatives of the minority community to approach for orientation concerning appropriate procedures for petitioning annexation, the first step in obtaining needed facilities and services. Once the stage had been set for substantive communication, other resource agencies such as the multi-county COG and the engineering consulting firm became involved and began playing the fact-gathering-analyst role. In this case Extension personnel, by helping orient both factions in the basics of problem solving through a re-focusing on the substantive issue at hand, played an effective catalyst role and quite possibly prevented a more serious confrontation or conflict. It is noted however with failure to gain passage of the annexation petition, the community's leaders are more seriously considering conflict-generating tactics such as boycotts and the possibility of the issue being resolved through cooperative efforts will be reduced on the short run.

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[3] Abbreviation for either Community and Resource Development, Community Resource Development, and Community and Rural Development, this designation most often used for state-level Extension efforts.

Conclusions and Recommendations

We have observed Extension involvement in issues purposely selected to typify Rothman's three development types -- locality development, social planning, and social action -- from the perspective of an Extension CRD Specialist located in the Title V county. It has been our objective to lay the groundwork for utilizing Rothman's schema to make judgements concerning the appropriateness of various practitioner roles and the timing of various inputs.

From our prospective of Extension CRD, we would like to review some of the limitations of the roles associated with each of the three Rothman models. The activist-advocate role associated with the social action model probably holds the least promise. The reason is that the role model is not congruent with the explicitly defined or minimal role limitations of Extension CRD specialists. To play a strong advocacy role for one community interest group would limit the specialist's effectiveness in responding to all groups needing assistance. The locality development model assumes the willingness of all segments of the community to cooperate on an on-going and long-term basis. Often questions are raised along the lines of: who participates and do their interests accurately represent those of the community at large? Experience has shown that by systematically gathering information (i.e., problem identification surveys, resource assessment surveys, etc.) and providing it to the general public, the likelihood of any particular interest group dominating the specialist is reduced considerably. The practitioner who chooses the social planning model as a guide may find that he becomes identified with the power structure or is perceived as an advocate of one group or project over another.

Returning to the case materials presented, it is immediately obvious that no particular practitioner role was ridigly followed. Rather, by classifying the situational context of each issue according to Rothman's schema, we were sensitized to the general pattern of expectations concerning our role on the part of the various groups in the county. For example, we could expect representatives of the minority community and the town to attempt to get us "on their side" of opinion concerning the annexation issue.

The question remains, how can practitioners analytically observe an ongoing development issue and choose the most effective or appropriate role and decide on the timing of various types of inputs associated with that role? What are the critical aspects of a development situation that must be addressed? Initially, the practitioners may seek to evaluate the issue of two basic questions:

1. Who are the groups or individuals involved and what is their relationship to one another? It is important to identify segments of the population that will be affected by development, whether or not each recognizes the potential impact. Conflict may be avoided by initially involving the diverse groups

that will be affected. We suggest, for example, that had the residents of the minority community been meaningfully involved in earlier planning efforts, the near-crisis situation now existing would never have developed. Each group perceives themselves as in a particular relationship to others in the community; "city hall crowd", "the blacks", and "big business" are labels representing such groups. These diverse groups may vary in their assumptions about how community development should be conducted, these assumptions change over time and with different issues. The groups involved and how they view development are important cues for the practitioner.

2. What is the history of the development issue? Development issues generally have long histories. What appears to arise suddenly in a public forum usually had a period of gestation in which incomplete ideas were developed. Practitioners should ask if there has been any prior experience with the particular issue under discussion. Was it successful? What was the role of community subgroups? This will give some clue as to the likely role such groups will play in the current issue. Did the previous involvement result in the development of opinion leaders that may be expected to be involved in the current development issue? By eliciting the answers to questions such as these, practitioners can gain a better understanding of the issue and its probable cause.

Rothman suggests that one particular long-run advantage of using such a framework which recognizes a range of practitioner roles is that "the practitioner takes an analytical, problem-solving stand and does not become the captive of a particular ideological or methodological approach to practice" (1970: 20). We agree and feel that the schema presented by Rothman represent a good starting point. With additional case studies and other research relating to this analytical framework, it should be possible to develop some testable propositions concerning the dynamic properties of community development. For example, how do intergroup relationships change over time and how are they related to indicators of development? Are there generalizable sequences of practitioner roles that are associated with successful development efforts?

We recognize the tendency with such an approach to over-emphasize the microsociological aspects of development, however an analytical framework of the type presented by Rothman appears to offer opportunities for the integration of ideas from various disciplines. This is sorely needed if we can expect to develop "theories of changing" which, according to Hobbs (1971: 12), are "oriented toward identification of variables instrumental for intervention and control."

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APPENDIX I

Rothman's Model of Community Development*

	Locality Development	Social Planning	Social Action
Assumptions concerning community structure and nature of problem	Static traditional community with anomie and lack of integrative mechanisms	No explicit assumptions concerning structure; lack of substantive knowledge concerning identified problems	Concentration of power; social injustice, with deprived subgroups
Basic change strategy	Involvement of broad cross-section in self-help philosophy	Promotion of problem-solving through "experts" -- limited public involvement	Manipulation of interest groups to change balance of power
Assumptions regarding interests of subgroups	Common or reconcilable	Reconcilable or in conflict	In conflict -- not reconcilable
Salient practitioner role	Enabler - catalyst Process consultant	Fact-gatherer and analyst	Activist-Advocate Agitator-Negotiator
Long-range goals	Integrated community, Highly skilled in problem-solving strategy; diffused power	Technically competent formal organizations with adequate data base	Institutional changes to meet needs of disadvantaged subgroups. Redistribution of political power

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*Adapted from Rothman, 1970: 25-27.

TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNISM: A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE CONCEPTS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR USE IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH*

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Abstract

Even though the sociological research has witnessed an increased use of the traditionalism and modernism concepts in the last three decades, a considerable lack of clarity still prevails regarding the theoretical and empirical bases of the concepts. This paper focuses on this issue and analyses the underlying theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the concepts. The historical background and the current use of the concepts in empirical research have been reviewed in order to identify the parameters within which the concepts should be used. Several approaches which have been used to define the concepts have also been analysed critically in order to develop a clearer idea of the theoretical and empirical nature of the concepts. Strengths and weaknesses of the conceptions of traditionalism and modernism through different approaches have been pointed out and the appropriateness of their use in different types of research has been suggested. Some suggestions have also been extended for the use of the concepts at different analytical levels of analysis.

Traditionalism and modernism are one of the most widely used concepts in the social sciences literature. The concepts have been used in comparative and noncomparative research at different levels of analysis[1] and to represent a wide variety of the social phenomena, ranging from cultural, behavioral and attitudinal orientations of individuals to the states of societies, social institutions and social artifacts. In spite of the extensive use, however, there is still a considerable lack of clarity regarding the theoretical and empirical bases of the concepts. The fundamental issues involved relate to the assumptions on which the concepts are based, conceptual clarity and empirical grounding of the concepts and continued validity of the concepts in empirical research (Barringer, Blanksten and Mack, 1965; Gusfield, 1967; Bendix, 1967; Sen, 1968; Weinberg, 1968; Weintraub, 1969; Schnaiberg, 1970; Galjart, 1971).

The attempt made in this paper is to develop a clearer understanding of the traditionalism and modernism concepts by reexamining the underlying theoretical and empirical underpinnings. Another objective of the paper is to extend some suggestions for an appropriate use of the concepts in empirical research.

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Historical Background of the Concepts

The concepts of traditionalism and modernism are an outcome of a crucial historical process which happened to have a considerable impact on the future states of societies and their processes of sociocultural change. The origins of this process can be traced back to the revival of Greek Science in Western Europe in the twelfth century. During this period, a phenomenal growth of scientific knowledge occurred in Western Europe with its noticeable impacts in the economic, social and cultural realms. However, it was not until the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution that unprecedented changes started occurring in the western European societies (Black, 1966). For several centuries, these occurring changes in the economic, social and cultural areas remained confined to the western European societies. Only in recent times, with the massive achievements in the areas of travel, communication and transportation, these changes have achieved a global relevance.

Social scientists have been trying to conceptualize the above mentioned change processes since the early stages of their respective disciplines. In sociology and anthropology, some of those efforts have resulted in a number of ideal-type conceptions of the societies and their processes of change.[2] These conceptions have been similar in form and in the principle of articulation. Though, the conceptions differ widely in focus, range, substantive propositions and theoretical sophistication (Weintraub, 1969).

Whereas, the earlier theorists were concerned primarily with the transformations of the western European societies, the present theorists are also interested in the change processes of the developing societies. For this reason, focus, range and purpose of the ideal-type conceptions have become relatively broader. But, in many other respects, these conceptions remain similar to the earlier ideal-type conceptions (Bendix, 1967; Portes, 1973).

In an implicit way, all of the ideal-type conceptions of societies refer to the states of traditionalism and modernism within them. But, an explicit use of the concepts traditionalism and modernism has become popular after World War II.

Current Use of the Concepts

In the existing literature, the term modernization has been used to refer broadly to the processes of social and cultural change in the societies. Often, the term has also been used in a narrower sense to refer to the processes of socio-cultural change in a specific societal dimension, or in specific societal units. The term modernism has been used to refer to the consequences of the modernization processes in the direction of increasing modernism. At the macro level, empirical referents of the concept modernism are the institutional and cultural changes occurring in a society. At the micro level, the concept refers to the occurring changes in the attitudes, values and behavioral patterns of the people. The transition from traditionalism to modernism is generally associated with the availability of a higher level of technology, increasing urbanization, industrialization and mechanization, extensive use of mass-media and formal education facilities and improved transportation and communication systems (Lerner, 1958; Inkeles, 1969). The historical referent in the explanation of growing modernism is the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution. Therefore, levels of techno-economic performances of the societies remain an important criterion in the assessment of traditionalism and modernism.

Sociologists basically agree upon the above mentioned general use of the concepts. But, they still disagree considerably regarding the specific theoretical and empirical nature of the concepts. To analyse these disagreements, reference may be made to the nature of the articulation of traditionalism and modernism concepts and the underlying assumptions and underpinnings.

The Underlying Assumptions

The articulation of traditionalism and modernism concepts appears to have occurred to accomplish two major objectives. First, to conceptualize the transformations of the western European societies since the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution. Second, to find the relevance of the western European experience of socio-cultural change for the processes of change in other western and nonwestern societies. Out of these foci for the articulation of traditionalism and modernism concepts, four assumptions appear to have followed: 1) the eighteenth century Industrial Revolution has been taken as the historical point to distinguish 'modern societies' from the 'premodern societies', 2) the techno-economic transformations of the western European societies and their related socio-cultural consequences have been taken as the criteria to define 'modern', 3) based on this definitional criteria, some ideal-type characteristics of the traditional and modern societies have been articulated in order to lend to the concepts a global relevance, and 4) the assumed direction of the transition of societies is from traditionalism to modernism in a unilineal and irreversible fashion. These assumptions need to be evaluated critically in order to develop a clearer idea of the theoretical and empirical bases of the concepts.

The Definitional Criteria

Sociologists tend to agree now that the changes occurring in societies since the Industrial Revolution have been of an unprecedented nature. They suggest that these changes may be represented by the concept modernism, or any other concept, provided it is consistent with the empirical evidence (Levy, Jr., 1966. Also see: Lerner, 1958; Moore, 1963; Kahl, 1968: Inkeles, 1966, 1969). In view of this agreement, it may be considered reasonable to take the Industrial Revolution as the historical point to distinguish modern societies from the premodern societies and to define 'modern' in terms of the techno-economic transformations of societies and the related socio-cultural consequences. However, in so defining, a techno-economic bias is inevitably associated with the traditionalism and modernism concepts and results of the empirical research using these concepts need to be interpreted cautiously. It should also be noted that societies can be evaluated and compared according to many criteria. The techno-economic transformations and their related socio-cultural consequences are only some of the available criteria to evaluate and compare societies (Pye, 1966). While using the concepts, therefore, the meaning and purpose of so defined modern and not-modern (traditional) need to be kept in focus. The concepts also need to be used within the limits of their conceptual boundaries so that oversimplification or obscurity effects do not occur in empirical research.

It may be noted that the use of traditionalism and modernism concepts in sociological research has indeed been overgenerous in the last three decades (Schnaiberg, 1970). The consequences of this have been as could be expected. Firstly, it has led to some misleading conclusions regarding the nature of the traditional societies that they have been static, homogeneous in structure and consistent in norms and values (Gusfield, 1967). Due to such conclusions, it has either been oversighted or denied that even the traditional societies have been undergoing transformations and that they possess more possibilities of change than what is assumed in the unilineal model of change (Bendix, 1967; Gusfield, 1967; Sen, 1968; Stephenson, 1968; Weintraub, 1972).

Another consequence of the overgenerous use has been in terms of some misleading value connotations which are often associated with the traditionalism and modernism concepts. In the literature, the concepts have often been associated with such terms as backward and advanced, underdeveloped and developed, non-industrialized and industrialized (Bendix, 1967; Horowitz, 1970; Portes, 1973). There may be little objection to such associations provided they are confined to the conceptual limits of techno-economic transformations and their related socio-cultural consequences. However, the problem arises when such associations are expanded and are given value connotations. Traditionalism, for example, has often been given a negative connotation as something undesirable in societies. Modernism, on the other hand, has invariably been given a positive connotation and has been advocated as an asset (see: Lerner, 1958; Peshkin and Cohen, 1967; Kahl, 1968; Inkeles, 1969, as quoted in Portes, 1973:33). Several researchers have pointed out that such value connotations given to the concepts are misleading since traditionalism is not always an undesirable condition in societies and nor is modernism always an asset (Gusfield, 1967; Weintraub, 1972; Portes, 1973).

It appears, therefore, that some of the misleading conclusions regarding the states of societies and their processes of change could have been avoided by using the concepts within their intended meaning and purpose. However, even such a restrictive use of the concepts does not lend validity to the assumption of unilineal change in societies. Nor, does it warrant that results of the modernization processes in different cross-cultural situations would be identical. The reasons for such obscurity effects can be located partly in the uncritical extrapolation of the consequences of the techno-economic transformations in the West into causes for social change in other societies (Bendix, 1967; Portes, 1973). Partly, the reasons also lie in the ideal-type articulation of the traditionalism and modernism concepts.

Validity of the Concepts

In spite of the disagreements on the specifics of the traditionalism and modernism concepts, enough general agreement appears to be there regarding the universality of growing modernism and its permeability into almost all aspects of the societal life (Lerner, 1958; Levy, Jr., 1966; Eisenstadt, 1966; Black, 1966; Weiner, 1966; Moore, 1963, 1965). Several researchers have shown further that the concepts of traditionalism and modernism are not just hypothetical constructs. Rather, they refer to some phenomenon which can be identified in terms of several theoretical and empirical indicators. Lerner (1958) found that in the Middle-East, traditionalism and modernism could be isolated in terms of such factors as urbanism, literacy, media participation, political participation and empathy.[3] Rogers (1962), similarly, found that at the systemic and individual levels, the traditionalism and modernism profiles were separable in terms of orientations and behavior in relation to the adoption of improved agricultural practices. Several other writers have confirmed the findings of Lerner (1958) and Rogers (1962). However, they have suggested that traditionalism and modernism can be identified in terms of several other psychological and behavioral indicators as well, such as familism, religiousity, environmental orientation, reproductive orientation, openness to new experience, independence from parental authority, etc. (Doob, 1967; Dawson, 1967; Kahl, 1968; Inkeles, 1969; Schnaiberg, 1970; Portes, 1973). Lastly, the researchers appear to agree that different indicators of traditionalism and modernism tend to form coherent clusters which meet the acceptable standards of scale construction (Lerner, 1958; Smith and Inkeles, 1966; Doob, 1967; Dawson, 1967). Thus, enough agreement appears to be there regarding the general validity of the traditionalism and modernism concepts and the possibility of their empirical identification.

Ideal-Type Versus Empirical Conceptions

Two types of the conceptions of traditionalism and modernism have been used in the past. They are: the ideal-type conceptions and the empirical conceptions.

Ideal-types are constructed for the methodological purpose of instituting comparisons. They are the logical extremes of the available empirical evidence and therefore, need not exist empirically as such (Martindale, 1959; Rogers, 1962). Such a nature of the ideal-type conceptions poses problems in the empirical research of traditionalism and modernism. Firstly, the ideal-types are only sensitizing devices which can be used to classify the phenomenon. But, they cannot relate the phenomenon to other situations either as causes, or as consequences (Martindale, 1959). Secondly, there are no standardized procedures for the construction of ideal-types. Thirdly, when thinking in ideal-type terms, there is always a tendency to overemphasize similarities and differences with reference to the ideal extremes. For this reason, the ideal-types have tended to show a greater contrast between the traditional and modern societies than is warranted by the empirical evidence (Gusfield, 1967; Weintraub, 1969). Fourthly, the ideal-type conceptions tend to reduce the traditional and modern societies to common denominators, irrespective of their historical, organizational and cultural differences. Fifthly, most of the empirical situations fall somewhere in the middle of the ideal extremes and it has been noticed that the ideal-types are not suitable to conceptualize such situations (Weintraub, 1969; Galjart, 1971). Sixthly, the ideal-type conceptions assume some universal characteristics of the societies and some relationships between the component characteristics. Since such characteristics and their relationships have not been adequately demonstrated to be valid through empirical research[4], they may not exist (Lewis, 1951; Simpson, 1965; Dewey, 1960; Napier, 1973). Besides, the growing evidence from the cross-cultural situations tends to suggest the possibility of several models of the transition of societies from traditionalism to modernism, rather than the unilineal transition as suggested by the ideal-types (Hoselitz, 1964; Gusfield, 1967; Bendix, 1967; Sen, 1968; Weinberg, 1968; Stephenson, 1968).

Considering the above stated weaknesses of the ideal-types, several researchers have preferred to use the empirical conceptions of traditionalism and modernism.[5] In this case, instead of using ideal-types of the concepts, the researchers use the theoretical insights of the typological tradition, along with the theoretical and empirical insights provided by research in different cross-cultural situations. The conceptions of traditionalism and modernism using the empirical approach, therefore, have a relatively greater empirical grounding and they also remain free from many of the weaknesses of the ideal-type constructs. For the purpose of empirical research, then, the empirical conceptions should be more helpful, particularly in ensuring the validity of the research.

Universal Versus Context-Specific Conceptions

Within the empirical approach, two perspectives have been adopted to define traditionalism and modernism. They are: the universal perspective and the context-specific perspective.

Proponents of the universal perspective emphasize that the concepts of traditionalism and modernism should be defined in universal terms since the same syndrome of modernism can be identified everywhere, irrespective of the differences in societies (Lerner, 1958; Inkeles, 1969). This claim of the universal perspective sociologists appears to have some research support. Portes (1973:23) mentions that "in Guatemala, as previously in Mexico and Brazil (Kahl, 1968), Argentina, Chile, Israel, Nigeria, Pakistan and India (Inkeles, 1969), Turkey (Schnaiberg, 1970), and the Middle-East (Lerner, 1958), a hypothetical modernity syndrome can be empirically isolated." It would appear, therefore, that valid universal conceptions of the concepts are possible at some level of abstraction of the phenomenon. However, whether or not such conceptions are capable of revealing the total range of the meaning and content of traditionalism and modernism in different cross-cultural situations remains uncertain.[6]

Proponents of the context-specific perspective have criticized the universal conceptions of traditionalism and modernism on the ground that such conceptions do not properly take into account the specific contexts of societies and the possibility of manifold relationships between the old forms and new conditions (Gusfield, 1967; Stephenson, 1968). In response to the claim of the universal perspective sociologists, they suggest that the identification of modernism in terms of some universal indicators does not prove that those indicators refer to the same phenomena everywhere. They emphasize that "the search for change universals has biased measures in favor of their discovery" (Stephenson, 1968:267). Consistent with this criticism, then, the context-specific perspective sociologists suggest that traditionalism and modernism should be defined in context-specific terms since the differences in societies, such as their locale, history, organizational structure, uniqueness of culture and the timing and sequence of modernization can create crucial differences in the nature of traditionalism and modernism within societies (Eisenstadt, 1966; Gusfield, 1967; Bendix, 1967; Stephenson, 1968; Weinberg, 1968; Sen, 1968; Clignet and Sween, 1969).

Given the conceptual problems noted above, the use of universal or context-specific conceptions of traditionalism and modernism would depend upon the level of generality or specificity desired in the empirical research (Schnaiberg, 1970). It would be appropriate to use the universal conceptions when the designed research is at a macro level, or when some fixed reference points are needed for the comparison of traditionalism and modernism (Wrong, 1969). However, for an indepth analysis, the universal conceptions do not appear to be suitable. One limitation of the universal conceptions is that they are possible at a highly abstract analytical level. Such conceptions, therefore, would be too abstract to represent the total empirical reality at the micro levels. Another limitation of the universal conceptions is the constraint placed on the researcher to explore the total range of the meaning and content of traditionalism and modernism. The context-specific conceptions, on the other hand, have a relatively greater potential for an indepth analysis of traditionalism and modernism with respect to the total range of their meaning and content. Moreover, due to their greater empirical groundings, the context-specific conceptions would also lend a relatively greater validity to the empirical research at the micro levels.

Empirical Research of the Concepts

At the conceptual level, the researcher can treat traditionalism and modernism as mutually exclusive concepts since they refer to two different states within societies. Empirically, however, the manifestations of the concepts occur together in different mixtures and blends relative to the situational contexts and the time factor (Gusfield, 1967; Weintraub, 1969). The study of traditionalism and modernism, therefore, has to be in relative terms since in the real situations, their pure forms simply do not exist (Lerner, 1958). However, as noted earlier, different indicators of the traditionalism and modernism concepts do tend to cluster together to meet the acceptable standards of scale construction. This makes it possible to specify the traditionalism and modernism profiles and to measure the degrees of overall traditionalism and modernism.

The Analytical Levels of Analysis

Another consideration in the empirical research of traditionalism and modernism relates to the unit of analysis and its analytical level. What traditionalism and modernism mean in a particular unit at one analytical level, may not mean the same in other units at other analytical levels. At the societal level, for example, modernism generally refers to such structural and cultural conditions, as increasing urbanization, high literacy, high rates of mass-media and political participation, universalistic ethics, legitimation through scientific ideas and resource allocation through achievement. But at the individual level, the concept refers to the psychological, behavioral and cultural orientations of the people as are characteristic in the urban-industrial societies (Parsons, 1951; Hoselitz, 1960; Smith and Inkeles, 1966; Kahl, 1968; Portes, 1973). In the empirical research, then, the researcher needs to keep in focus the analytical level of his unit of analysis. For each analytical level, the researcher would need different level of the operationalization of his variables and different indicators (Kaplan, 1964; Smith and Inkeles, 1966).

Likewise, the phenomena of traditionalism and modernism itself can be studied at several levels of abstraction. At the societal level, one can study structural modernism, organizational modernism, institutional modernism, or cultural modernism. At the individual level, the focus could be on the psychological, behavioral, or cultural orientations. In this case again, the researcher would need to operationalize the variables differently and would seek different indicators.

Summary

The focus of this paper has been on the problem of lack of clarity regarding the theoretical and empirical bases of the traditionalism and modernism concepts and the parameters within which the concepts should be used. A review of the historical background and the current use of the concepts suggests that the articulation of the concepts has occurred for the specific purpose of analysing and comparing societies with respect to their techno-economic transformations and the related socio-cultural consequences. The concepts, therefore, need to be used within this context to avoid misleading conclusions regarding the states of societies and their processes of change.

In order to develop a clearer idea of the theoretical and empirical bases of the concepts, several approaches which have been used to define traditionalism and modernism have been reviewed critically. Strengths and weaknesses of the conceptions through different approaches have been pointed out and the appropriateness of their use in different types of research has been suggested. In brief, the utility of the ideal-type conceptions appears to be as sensitizing devices. But, beyond that their utility would be limited due to the nature of their articulations. The universal conceptions have been found suitable when the designed research is at a macro level, or when the researcher needs some fixed reference points for the comparison of traditionalism and modernism. For an indepth analysis, however, the universal conceptions would be less suitable. The context-specific coneptions have been found to be best suited when the designed research is at a micro level, or when an indepth analysis is desired with respect to the total range of the meaning and content of traditionalism and modernism. Some suggestions have also been extended for an appropriate use of the concepts at different analytical levels of analysis.

NOTES

1. For the use of traditionalism and modernism concepts at different levels of analysis, see: Nettl and Robertson, 1968 (for the international level); Lerner, 1958; Levy, Jr., 1966 (for the societal level); Abu-Lughod, 1964; Sjoberg, 1964 (for the community level); Kahl, 1968; Stephenson, 1968; Inkeles, 1969; Schnaiberg, 1970; Portes, 1973 (for the individual level).
2. Some of the best known ideal-type conceptions of the societies and their processes of change are: gemeinschaft and gesellschaft (Toennies), mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity (Durkheim), feudal-agricultural and bourgeois-industrial (Marx), traditional and rational societies (Weber), sacred and secular societies (Becker), traditional and modern societies (Lerner), rural-urban continuum (Redfield). See: Bendix, 1967; Weintraub, 1969.
3. Empathy has been defined by Lerner (1958) as the psychic mechanism which enables an individual to put himself in another person's situation and to identify with a role, time, or place, different from his own, through introjection and/or projection.
4. One exception in case of the ideal-type conceptions of traditionalism and modernism, where relationships between the component variables have been demonstrated to be avlid through empirical research, has been the work of Lerner (1958).
5. For examples of the conceptions of traditionalism and modernism using the empirical approach, see: Lerner (1958); Emery and Oeser (1958).

6. A note of concern regarding the ability of the universal conceptions of traditionalism and modernism to reveal total range of the meaning and content of the phenomena in different cross-cultural situations is apparent in Lerner (1958:46), Eisenstadt, (1966:1), Kahl (1968:28) and Schnaiberg (1970:420).

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Evaluation of an Educational Program's Impact on Attitudes and Knowledge Related to Land Resource Management

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During the 1970's there have been an increasing number of social scientists interested in socially relevant research in the areas of ecological psychology and related public policy formation. There is increasing interest in how a person affects the environment as well as how the environment affects the person. This interest has developed largely with a realization that many of the problems related to the rapid population growth and technological development which have occurred in the United States within the past century have not been dealt with effectively. Those involved with public policy formation are increasingly aware that social and environmental factors must be considered, as well as economic and political factors (Coke & Brown, 1975; Goodwin & Tu, 1975; Ittelson, Prosharsky, Rivlin, & Winkel, 1974; Otto, 1974).

Traditionally, the management of land resources has been left to the individual land-owner's discretion, with little or no governmental interference. However, with increasing public concern for the environment and a quality of life, management of land resources is currently a discussion topic at the federal, state, and local governmental levels. Several states, including Vermont, Florida, California, and Hawaii, have already adopted wide-scale land use planning (Beuscher, Wright, & Gitelman, 1976). The National Land Use Policy and Planning Assistance Bill introduced in the 93rd Congress, if passed, would have encouraged similar moves by all states (Timmons, 1972).

Arkansas has undergone some major changes within the last decade. Many areas in the state have had a rapid growth in population, primarily due to development of retirement, recreation, and manufacturing attractions. In major agricultural areas of the state, technological advances have reduced the need for agricultural labor, resulting in population losses (Arkansas Department of Planning, 1973). Changes in land use have accompanied the changes in population, with agriculture and forest land being converted to other uses, particularly in growing urban areas of the state.

Although Arkansas cities have had the authority to plan for land uses since the 1920's, and counties since the 1930's, the majority of them have not used that authority (Arkansas Department of Local Services, 1975; Witte, Solberg, & Martin, 1962). The state of Arkansas has no comprehensive land use planning program. Thus, experience with planning for changing land uses is limited.

The basic change in governmental policy toward increasing supervision, regulation, and control of land resources, as has occured in several states, has met with mixed reactions in Arkansas (Governor's Advisory Committee, 1974). In addition, a recent statewide survey found that public familiarity with land use planning concepts is low (Jackson, Danforth, Hudson, & Voth, 1976). That survey also found a high degree of indecision regarding land use planning, although more favored than opposed the idea. Land use planning thus appears to be a relatively new idea to Arkansas residents, one about which many people are unsure.

The Cooperative Extension Service, which is the educational branch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has expanded its program to meet the needs of a changing rural clientele and the changing patterns of land use by an increased educational effort in community resource development and land use planning in Arkansas (Bates, 1975). Its state-wide land use planning educational program was conducted in two stages. The first stage included general land use planning education in the counties, and the second stage involved educating county leaders in the organizational and operational processes of land use planning. The second stage of the program, which is the topic of this research, was implemented by holding informational meetings to which county leaders were invited.

Programs for leaders are a characteristic educational approach of the Cooperative Extension Service (Extension Committee on Organization and Policy, 1966). This approach is based on a diffusion model of technological innovation long used by agriculturists (Rogers & Burdge, 1972, Chap. 13). As described by Rogers (pg. 373), "the main elements in the diffusion of new ideas are: the innovation, which is communicated through certain channels, over time, among the members of a social system. An innovation is an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual." According to this model, change agents work through opinion leaders and thereby bridge the gap with their clients. Based on the above definition, land use planning as a process can certainly be conceptualized as an innovation in the state of Arkansas. Wide-scale land management is a fairly new idea to this country; and within Arkansas, planning options have not been widely exercised, nor is the general public familiar with the idea.

Although it would be of considerable interest to assess the effectiveness of the diffusion model in predicting the formation and acceptance of social and environmental policies, the required longitudinal research approach was beyond the scope of this study. However, it was possible to assess the impact of the second stage of the Cooperative Extension Service's educational program on the formation or change of attitudes toward the idea of land use planning, and on knowledge about the processes involved, as applied to the leaders themselves.

A need for social science studies of the impact of knowledge on orientation toward social policy is presented by Goodwin and Tu (1975) in a discussion of possible causal models as alternative approaches to more traditional correlational models in studies of support for public policy. In a study of attitudes and knowledge concerning ecological issues, high levels of concern and verbal committment were reported among all population groups, but very few facts about ecology were known (Maloney & Ward, 1973; Maloney, Ward, & Braucht, 1975). The authors concluded that high concern but little knowledge about ecological issues indicates a critical need for educational programs.

With environmental issues of increasing interest to public policy-makers and the general public, an opportunity to assess the impacts of such educational programs as the Cooperative Extension Service's on its participant leaders attitudes and knowledge about land use planning is important in gaining insight into the educational process.

This research project evaluated the impact of the Cooperative Extension Service educational program on participants' attitudes toward and knowledge of aspects of land use planning and resource management. It was hypothesized that the meeting would increase participants' knowledge of land use planning over that of a control group and that it would effect some change in the participants' attitudes toward aspects of land use problems and policies.

Methodology

Design. The experimental design provided for one group which would attend a meeting and be given a questionnaire to complete at the meeting's end, and one group which would be mailed a questionnaire to complete the week of the meeting. Campbell and Stanley (1963) refer to this as a posttest only-control group design. Since random assignment was used to equalize the two groups, this design eliminated any effects due to a pretest, and had internal validity.

Procedure. The program to be evaluated was a meeting sponsored by the Cooperative Extension Service (CES) in conjunction with the University of Arkansas Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. The five hour meeting was held in Russellville, Arkansas, on March 30, 1976, beginning at 4:00 P.M. It was scheduled with speakers on different aspects of land use planning, with a 1 1/2 hour break for a meal in the middle.

The first half of the meeting consisted of a slide presentation of land use planning issues which was accompanied by a prepared script.1/ The humanistic aspects of these issues were then discussed by a panel of University of Arkansas faculty from the departments of law, sociology,

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1/ The slide series was developed by the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy, and modified under the direction of William S. Bonner, Chairman, Division of Community Affairs, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

philosophy, and English. An open discussion session followed the presentations.

The second half of the meeting consisted of panel presentations by a group from Crittenden County, Arkansas, on the development and administration of their county-wide land use planning program. A second discussion session was then held. At this time the questionnaires were distributed, instructions were read by the discussion moderator, and anonymity was assured. The completed questionnaires were then left on the tables and collected after the meeting.

The people in the control group were mailed a questionnaire with a postage-paid, self-addressed envelope enclosed. This mailing was done the week of the meeting by the county CES agents.

Subjects. Ninety-five adult county leaders were selected for inclusion in the sample. Nineteen leaders were selected from each of the five counties in the West Central Arkansas Cooperative Extension Service District; Conway, Pope, Johnson, Yell and Perry Counties. This district was chosen for the study because of prior plans by the CES to hold a land use planning meeting there.

Leaders were identified and a list compiled by the county and area CES agents, as is their customary procedure. These leaders were businessmen, professionals, farmers, and others who were considered by the CES as leaders in county affairs.

The 95 leaders were assigned to groups by a randomized block procedure (Cox, 1958): ten of the leaders from each county were chosen to attend and complete a questionnaire at the meeting (experimental group), and nine were chosen not to attend, but to complete a mailed questionnaire (control group). County judges and county CES personnel were also invited to the meeting by request of the CES, but were not included in the study sample because all were invited to attend.

Materials. The program was evaluated by a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to assess attitudes toward aspects of land use planning and knowledge of present Arkansas land use policies, to collect demographic characteristics of the participants, and to assess participants' evaluation of the program. The contents of the questions were taken from the CES's program presentation materials, land use planning materials developed by the Extension Committee on Organization and policy, 2/ planning guidelines and materials prepared by the University of Arkansas Division of Community Affairs, and from a questionnaire designed by staff of the University of Arkansas Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology to assess land use planning attitudes in Arkansas.

2/ These materials included three companion leaflets on land use planning: "Issues in Land Use", "The Citizen's Role in Land Use Policy," and "Instruments for Shaping Land Use Policy."

The attitudinal questions measured favorability toward land use planning in general, public versus private rights in land use control, preservation and control of agricultural land, and preservation and conservation of the environment. The factual items related to Arkansas land use policies, including some items which were assumed to be widely known and others which were more technical in nature.

The questionnaire format consisted of a brief instruction page, 11 attitudinal questions answered on a five-point Likert scale, six factual questions answered as true-false-don't know, and demographic questions. In addition, for those attending the meeting, ratings of the program were requested, while those not attending the meeting were asked questions concerning what types of information about land use planning would be of interest to them.

A form of this questionnaire was administered as a pilot at a CES land use planning meeting in Mena, Arkansas, June 26, 1975. The questionnaire was revised on the basis of suggestions by the participants, by eliminating items with highly skewed distributions, and by eliminating items on which the no response rate was high.

This revised form was tested in five public meetings on land use planning funded by an Arkansas Humanities Council Grant. One meeting was held in each of Madison, Franklin, Carroll, Benton, and Washington Counties in the fall of 1975. Revisions were made, as above, on the basis of feedback from those completing the questionaire.

Results

Although random assignment to treatment group was central to the design, perfect control of assignment unfortunately was not achieved. Some of those who had been assigned to the control group heard of the meeting and attended, while some of those who had been assigned to attend the meeting were unable to come. This resulted in a reduction in each group. Therefore, regardless of their original assignment, all those in the sample who attended the meeting were asked to complete a questionnaire at the meeting and all those in the sample who did not attend the meeting were asked to complete a mailed questionnaire.

To secure a high response rate from the mailed questionnaire, a series of follow-ups to the initial mailing by the CES was conducted from the University of Arkansas using a method developed by James A. Christenson (1974). When the daily response rate from the initial mailing dropped to one percent, a postcard reminder was sent for all non-returned questionnaires. When the daily response rate again dropped to one percent, a second copy of the questionnaire was sent. Christenson's method also employs a third mail follow-up, but in this study, responses to the second follow-up were so few that the third was dropped. Seventy-four percent of the leaders contacted by mail responded. The number of returned questionnaires per mailing for leaders in each county, as well as the number in each county who completed questionnaires at the meeting, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Number of Questionnaires From Each County
Completed Per Mailing and at the Meeting

	Mailing			Meeting	
County	Initial mailing	First follow-up	Second follow-up		No response
Conway	6	2	0	9	2
Johnson	5	1	0	4	9
Perry	4	4	0	9	2
Pope	9	0	0	8	2
Yell	5	2	1	8	3
Total	29	9	1	38	19

Note: The mailed questionnaire was completed by 39 (74%) of the 53 leaders contacted. A questionnaire was completed at the meeting by 38 (90%) of the 42 leaders attending.

The questionnaires completed at the meeting were both from leaders assigned to attend the meeting and from those assigned to complete the mailed questionnaire. The same is true of the completed mailed questionnaires. Therefore each group is divided into subgroups by original assignment as follows: (1) C-C groups--assigned to control group, remained in control group (29 leaders), (2) E-C group--assigned to experimental group, moved to control group (10 leaders), (3) C-E group--assigned to control group, moved to experimental group (10 leaders), (4) E-E group--assigned to experimental group, remained in experimental group (28 leaders). These groups will sometimes be considered independently in analysis, and will sometimes be combined.

For each attitudinal, factual, and demographic question, a t-test for difference in group means was performed.3/ In these analyses, the C-C and E-C groups were combined, and the C-E and E-E groups were combined. Thus, the differences to be tested are between all those who attended the meeting (meeting group), and all those who completed the mailed questionnaire (mailing group). This provides a liberal test of meeting effects, since the effects of selectivity of leaders due to the crossovers (C-E and E-C subgroups) are not examined or controlled.

On demographic characteristics, 2-tail t-tests resulted in no significant differences. Thus, the selectivity of respondents to control

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3/ The t-tests were performed using the subprogram "T-TEST" provided by Nie, N. H., Hull, C. H., Jenkins, J. G., Steinbrenner, K., & Bent, D. H. Statistical package for the social sciences. McGraw-Hill, Inc. 1975 and experimental groups did not result in a large difference in composition of the two groups. Using the two groups for comparison of meeting effect therefore has some validity.

It was hypothesized that the meeting would have an effect on attitudes toward land use planning. Since the direction of effect was not specified, the t-tests were performed using a 2-tail test of significance.

On four of the 11 attitudinal items, significant differences were obtained. All of these differences were in the direction of increased favorability toward land use planning and land use control for those who attended the meeting (Table 2). On the issue of land use planning and land use regulation in general, those who attended were more likely to favor land use planning and less likely to think the landowner should be unrestricted by regulation. Other interesting differences occurred in attitudes toward regulation of agricultural land: those who attended the meeting were more likely to think that good agricultural land should be preserved through regulation, and less likely to think land use planning puts too many restrictions on farmers.

An increase in knowledge about land use planning was also hypothesized for those attending the meeting. Therefore, the t-tests were conducted using a one-tail test of significance. On two of the six factual items, siginificant differences in the expected direction were obtained (Table 3).

An attempt to control for and examine the effects of selectivity to groups was made using a multiple regression approach. The effects of demographic characteristics were controlled while examining the effect of group assignment; thus, any differences in group composition resulting from selectivity should be controlled. Demographic characteristics, as well as assignment group, were included as independent variables in the model, with assignment group separated into four subgroups (C-C, E-C, C-E, and E-E groups). Entering the C-E and E-C subgroups independently allowed their separate effects on the dependent variables to be estimated, thereby providing at least partial examination of the effects of the crossovers.

Each attitudinal and factual item was entered as a dependent variable in the following regression model: attitudinal or factual question = age, education, retirement status, ownership of land used for business or industry, ownership of agricultural land, ownership of land with housing development, ownership of land for "other" uses, occupation as a farmer, E-E group, C-E group, E-C group.4/ As indicated, the C-C group was excluded from the model to prevent its being over-determined. Thus the C-C group provides the comparison for the effects associated with the three groups included in the model.

4/ The regression analyses were performed using the "General Linear Models" procedures provided by Barr, A. J., Goodnight, J. H., Sall, J. P., & Helwig, J. T. A user's guide to SAS 76. Raleigh, N.C.: Sparks Press, 1976. In the regression solution, each effect was tested with all other effects held constant. A person who had a missing value for any variable included in the model was excluded from the analysis.

Table 2
Results of t-tests on Attitudinal Items for Differences in Mailing and Meeting Group Means

Attitudinal item	Mean[a] Mailing	Mean[a] Meeting	Value of t	df
New regulations are needed or we will have serious problems of pollution.	3.4 ([illegible]	3.8 (37)	-1.55	71
Public spending and regulations are needed so that more people will have parks and playgrounds to use.	3.4 (37)	3.5 (38)	-0.63	73
Land use planning puts too many restrictions on farmers in the use of their land.	3.4 (37)	2.3 (35)	3.86***	70
The public should have the right to set aside land for a necessary use (parks, agriculture, etc.) even if it prevents the landowner from making a profit by selling to developers.	2.2 (37)	2.4 (37)	-0.56	72
Good agricultural land should be regulated to prevent its being used for housing or other development.	3.1 (36)	3.8 (36)	-2.53*	70
There should be controls on population growth in certain areas by limiting the number of new houses built, or by other means.	3.4 (37)	3.7 (38)	-1.24	73
Regulations should not prevent the landowner from doing what he pleases with his land.	3.5 (36)	2.9 (37)	2.28*	71
There should be regulations to limit landowners in clearcutting timber along scenic highways of the state.	3.1 (36)	2.6 (35)	1.52	69
Land use planning is government intervention in private affairs.	3.3 (36)	2.9 (36)	1.19	70
The government should buy land to leave in its natural state (wilderness areas, etc.) for present and future uses.	3.8 (35)	3.3 (35)	1.69	68
I am in favor of land use planning.	3.1 (37)	4.0 (37)	-3.56**	72

[a] Response scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of leaders in each group.

$^{*}p < .05$

$^{**}p < .01$

$^{***}p < .001$

Table 3
Results of t-tests on Factual Items for Differences in Mailing and Meeting Group Means

Factual item	Mean[a] Mailing	Meeting	Value of t	df
"Fee simple ownership" gives the landowner the right to do almost anything he pleases with his land.	0.4 (35)	0.2 (34)	0.80	67
Cities do not have the legal right to control growth and development outside their boundaries.	0.1 (37)	0.4 (37)	-1.33	72
Present Arkansas laws do not permit cities or counties to do joint planning on a regional basis.	-0.5 (37)	-0.9 (36)	2.20*	71
Arkansas cities have the legal right to zone or otherwise control the use of land within their boundaries.	0.9 (36)	0.9 (38)	-0.05	72
County judges have the authority to enact county-wide controls on land development	-0.5 (36)	0.1 (37)	2.99**	71
Before any county zoning regulations on land use are adopted, a public hearing must be held.	0.9 (37)	0.9 (38)	-0.03	73

[a] Response scale: 1= true, 0 = don't know, -1 = false.

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of leaders in each group.

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

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With the effects of individual characteristics controlled in the multiple regression analyses, group assignment had a significant effect on three attitudinal items and on no factual items.

On the item, "I am in favor of land use planning," group assignment was one of four significant effects. Both the E-E and the C-E groups had significant positive effects compared to the C-C group, while the E-C group did not. Thus, accounting for the effects of demographic characteristics, those who attended the meeting still were more favorable toward land use planning than those who did not attend. With all other effects controlled, age had a significant positive slope on favorability, while ownership of land for housing development and occupation as a farmer had significant negative slopes.

Group assignment was the only significant effect on two items regarding attitude toward regulation of agricultural land. Among groups, the E-E group had the only significant effect compared with the C-C group. Accounting for the effects of demographic characteristics, those in the E-E group were more likely than those in the C-C group to think that good agricultural land should be preserved through regulation, and less likely to think land use planning puts too many restrictions on farmers. Apparently, selectivity to groups had an important influence on attitudes toward regulation of agricultural land: neither those in the C-E group nor those in the E-C group were significantly different in favorability from the C-C group.

The means associated with each subgroup for the above dependent variables are presented in Table 4 and the results of the multiple regression analyses for those variables are presented in Table 5.

Table 4
Group Means for Attitudinal Items on
Which Group Assignment has a Significant Effect

	Mean[a]			
Attitudinal item	C-C group	E-C group	C-E group	E-E group
I am in favor of land use planning	2.9 (28)	3.8 (9)	3.9 (10)	4.0 (27)
Good agricultural land should be regulated to prevent its being used for housing or other development.	3.0 (27)	3.3 (9)	3.5 (10)	3.9 (26)
Land use planning puts too many restrictions on farmers in the use of their land.	3.5 (28)	3.1 (9)	2.7 (9)	2.2 (26)

[a] Response scale: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of leaders in each group.

Table 5
Multiple Regression Analysis Results for Attitudinal Items on Which Group Assignment had a Significant Effect

Independent variable	Attitudinal item: Favor land use planning[a] b	Favor land use planning[a] t value	Regulate agricultural land[b] b	Regulate agricultural land[b] t value	Land use planning restricts farmers[c] b	Land use planning restricts farmers[c] t value
Intercept	1.99	2.34*	2.20	1.91	3.44	3.30**
Age	0.28	2.29*	0.31	1.88	-0.10	0.65
Education	0.03	0.61	-0.01	-0.20	0.03	0.52
Retirement status	-0.25	-0.49	-0.66	-0.94	0.22	0.35
Own business or industry land	0.23	0.69	-0.23	-0.53	-0.29	-0.72
Own agricultural land	-0.38	-1.28	0.02	-0.05	0.09	0.25
Own housing development land	-0.93	-2.16*	-0.22	-0.38	-0.35	-0.66
Own land for "other" use	0.08	0.20	-0.35	-0.67	-0.50	-1.05
Occupation as farmer	-0.72	-2.40*	-0.47	-1.15	-0.07	-0.18
Group[d]						
E-E	1.08	3.83***	1.09	2.84**	-1.24	-3.58***
C-E	0.95	2.50*	0.60	1.17	-0.67	-1.45
E-C	0.48	1.22	0.39	0.75	-0.41	-0.85

[a] $\underline{R}^2$ = .43, *df* = 65.

[b] $\underline{R}^2$ = .21, *df* = 64.

[c] $\underline{R}^2$ = .27, *df* = 64.

[d] The C-C subgroup was excluded from the model to prevent its being over-determined; thus, it provides the comparison for effects associated with the three subgroups included.

$^{*}p < .05$
$^{**}p < .01$
$^{***}p < .001$

Even with the effects of demographic characteristics controlled, the significant meeting effects might have been due to selectivity involved in the C-E and E-C groups. Therefore, a more conservative test of significance was conducted for the three attitudinal questions on which group had a significant effect. T-tests were again performed, but the groups were combined by original assignment, rather than by actual participation as in the first analysis. Thus, the C-E and C-C groups were combined and the E-C and E-E groups were combined. Hence, all those originally assigned to the experimental group were considered as one group, even though ten had not actually participated in the program. Conversely, all those originally assigned to the control group were considered as one group, even though ten of them actually participated in the program.

Even with this combination of subgroups, significant differences in group means were obtained for the above three attitudinal items. Clearly, these differences not only can be attributed to program effects, but also are a biased estimate which under-estimated real differences. Therefore, the meeting is concluded to have a real effect on some attitudes toward land use planning and the regulation of agricultural land, but not on knowledge of land use planning facts.

On questions directly concerning the meeting, over 97 percent of those attending said that the program held their interest, that it increased their knowledge of land use planning, and that they would recommend attendance at such a program to their friends. Perhaps the most informative answers regarding the program were obtained to the question, "What part of the program did you like best?" Forty-one percent stated no preference, 6 percent preferred the first half of the meeting, and a majority of 53 percent preferred the second half of the meeting. As discussed earlier, the first half of the meeting provided information and discussion on land use planning issues, while the second half provided information and discussion on personal experiences involved in the development and administration of an operating land use planning system.

Among those who did not attend the meeting, 87 percent thought land use planning is an important issue for discussion in their counties.

Two other questions identified what types of information would interest the leaders, and in what forms that material should be made available by the CES. As is shown in Table 6, information about Arkansas land use laws and policies was of the most potential interest to the leaders, with information about land use issues having the second most interest. The highest number of leaders wanted the CES to make the information available at public meetings, and the second most popular form was in a newsletter (Table 7).

Summary and Discussion

An increase in program participants' knowledge about land use planning over that of a control group was hypothesized. Analyses of group means yielded significant differences on only two out of six factual items. As shown in further analyses, these differences were accounted for by demographic characteristics of the leaders, rather than by effects associated with the meeting itself. Therefore, the hypothesis of increased knowledge is rejected: attendance at the meeting did not result in significant increases in knowledge of participants over those in a control group.

Table 6
Percentages of the Control Group Expressing Interest in Different Type of Land Use Planning Information

Information type	Percentage
Present land use laws and policies in Arkansas	78
Land use planning issues	73
Present land use laws and policies in other states	51
Where to obtain specialized information and help with land use planning	32
N of cases	37

Table 7
Percentages of the Control Group Expressing Interest in Different Forms of Land Use Planning Information

Information form	Percentage
Public meeting	67
Newsletter	58
Information upon request at office	44
Newspaper articles	39
Television programs	19
N of cases	36

A difference in attitudes toward land use planning was also hypothesized for program participants as compared to a control group. In analyses of group means, significant differences were obtained on four out of 11 attitudinal items. On only one item did demographic characteristics of the leaders account for these differences. Thus, meeting participation had an important effect on answers to three attitudinal items, even with demographic effects controlled. The differences that occurred were increased favorability toward land use planning, and toward preservation and regulation of agricultural land, for those who attended the meeting. That these differences were real effects of the meeting is substantiated by significant differences between groups obtained using a conservative test, one which under-estimated the meeting effects. The hypothesis of attitudinal differences is thus accepted: attendance at the meeting resulted in significantly more favorable attitudes toward land use planning and agricultural regulation for participants over those in a control group.

From these results, the major impact of the CES's educational program on land use planning appears to be that of increasing favorability toward land use planning and regulation, rather than that of increasing factual knowledge of land use policies for participating leaders.

Increasing favorability toward a new idea may be a necessary step in the educational process. In the diffusion model which guides the CES's educational program, the innovation is introduced to the opinion leaders of a community. Establishing some positive feelings in these leaders toward an idea could facilitate effective dissemination of information concerning the idea. As Maloney and Ward (1973) had concluded, a high concern for problems indicates a fertile ground for educational efforts.

One would expect, however, some increase in knowledge of land use planning facts associated with meeting participation. That effect was not found in this study. Still, those not attending the meeting indicated high interest in obtaining information on Arkansas land use laws and policies, and meeting participants preferred the part of the meeting which related actual experiences in land use planning. In addition, those not attending the meeting most wanted information from the CES in public meetings and newsletters, indicating they wish the CES to take an active part in land use planning education. Thus, the fertile ground for land use planning educational efforts by the CES seems to be prepared.

An increase in factual knowledge did not result from the meeting. Thus, a need is indicated for more purely factual content in meetings of this type. The effectiveness of educational programs in increasing knowledge seems especially important when working with a population of leaders, particularly if one assumes that they play an active role in the formation and acceptance of public policy. Perhaps a third stage in the CES's educational program is in order to further the dissemination of facts concerning land use planning to Arkansas residents.

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THE PROCESS OF EVALUATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT*

by

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Preface

This manuscript was prepared as a response to the rural development practicioner's need for knowledge on the subject of evaluative research. However, this paper may best be viewed as just the tip of the evaluation iceberg. Hopefully, I have included most of the relevant concerns for evaluation from the practicioner's standpoint. In my range of exposure to rural development and evaluation, and most notably, the some 18 months of involvement as Co-Leader of this "Synthesis" Project, I have come into contact with some of the most interesting and knowledgeable persons in the areas of rural development and evaluation. The administrators, researchers, practicioners, educators and "Functional Network" members who supplied inputs to this project will probably find their ideas and/or philosophies co-opted for this document. This, I believe, is good since the purpose of this paper and of the Project as a whole is synthesis.

G. Richard Wetherill
August, 1976

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THE PROCESS OF EVALUATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The rather brief history of evaluation in rural development has been characterized by an attitude of foreboding. This seems to be one of the most prevalent problems in this area at the present time. Such an attitude appears to stem mainly from a lack of information regarding what principles of evaluation are applicable to rural development. The undergirding purpose of this paper is that of providing rural development practitioners with a brief sketch of the tools necessary to conduct an evaluation of rural development programs. Four key issues will be dealt with in this paper: (1) the purpose of evaluation, (2) what we evaluate, (3) the evaluation process, and (4) the problems and pitfalls in evaluation. Although these four key issues cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered as the total range of the evaluation process, they may be viewed as four issues which any potential evaluator must address before getting started in evaluative research.

There are many definitions of evaluation. Much of the controversy in the field today concerns the development of an adequate definition for evaluation (Ladewig, 1976). Many of these controversies spring from definitions of evaluation which lend a threatening connotation to evaluation. Perhaps what would be most beneficial for the evaluation of rural development programs, would be a definition of evaluation which is non-threatening in nature. One frame in which such an evaluation definition could be couched is one which results from the definition dichotomy of "evaluation for program improvement" versus "evaluation for program justification." The most non-threatening definitions of evaluation tend to come from those who define evaluation as being for the primary purpose of program improvement, while the more threatening definitions relate directly to justification of programs. Therefore, for our purposes here, evaluation may be defined as the systematic examination of a program in operation for the purpose of improvement (Wetherill and Buttram, 1976). This process takes the form of assessing a program in terms of its stated goals and objectives. Such evaluative information is then used in order to make decisions concerning program improvement. Although such a definition may be limited and rather elementary, it can serve as a useful starting point for beginning an evaluation.

Evaluation research may be considered more applied than "pure." Even with all things considered, the ranges of evaluation are great. In terms of "things" evaluated, the range may run the gamut from classroom/teacher-type evaluations, through detailed program evaluations, all the way up to the evaluation of social subsystems. In terms of the degree of evaluative rigor, the range may run from cerebral type of evaluations through formal evaluations. The techniques of evaluation research also encompass a wide range, including informal techniques (participant observations or other unobtrusive measures) up to and including experimental and quasi-experimental designs. It is usually up to the evaluator and/or program staff and administrators to determine wherein these ranges the evaluation may be specified. Such things must be considered in developing a personal philosophy of evaluation.

Why Evaluate?: The Purpose of Evaluation

Everyone evaluates. Our daily lives are filled with decisions we must make based on the conclusions which we draw from the data that we receive. This informal evaluation, more often than not non-verbalized, is part and parcel of our daily living.

In the case of project or program evaluation, all too often informal evaluation is the only type that has been done. Given the increased national emphasis for requiring program evaluation (Hammil, 1975), what is needed now is a formalization of the ofttimes informal process of evaluation. The benefits of such formalization are potentially tremendous. At the very least, evaluation may be used to provide documentation concerning the history and/or impacts of a program. Better evaluations will provide program decision makers with the necessary evaluation information in order to help them make better decisions toward better programs. In this light, program evaluation can be used for both program improvement and program justification, and provide for program planning and policy making. The fact remains that, like it or not, program evaluation is fast becoming a mandatory part of program operations (Wholey, et. al., 1973).

What Do We Evaluate?

The answer to the question posed by the title of this section is not simply answered by saying, "The program." In evaluation, we must be concerned with the components which not only make up the program, but also make up the evaluation. Here, we mean such things as: program objectives or goals, program personnel interaction, program processes, resources, intended audiences, evaluation objectives, types and levels of evaluation data, judgment-making processes, evaluator roles and responsibilities, and the list could go on. In order for this "primer" to be most effective, it seems that possibly two major issues should be addressed. When the question is asked, "What should we evaluate?", the first answer should probably be "the objectives." Being the logical starting point for an evaluation, the objectives of a program should be adequate descriptors of what the program is all about. Generally, the jargon of evaluation labels program objectives as criteria for evaluation (Steele, 1970). In many evaluation designs, criteria become the starting point for delineating what data is to be collected for the evaluation effort.

A major evaluation data concern which we have identified in the realm of social program evaluation is that relating especially to those non-economic variables which have a bearing on social programs. Part of the legacy of social program evaluation, and evaluation research in general, has been the concern for cost-benefit analysis. Needless to say, the knowledge, attitudes, skills, and aspirations of program target audiences are very difficult to operationalize in terms of cost-benefit analyses (Rothenberg, 1975). Dollars-and-cents figures do not necessarily apply to important program considerations such as staff interaction. There is an increasing emphasis in social program evaluation toward the measurement of non-economic variables. This issue is exemplified through such considerations as using attitudes of program recipients as a measure of program effectiveness.

What this all seems to point to is an expanded "bag of tricks" for the program evaluator. The evaluator must be aware of any type of data collection device, no matter what the source, which can aid him in more effectively evaluating a program. The evaluator must learn to rely not only on data gathered from detailed survey designs, but must also to be able to apply more informal techniques such as participant observation (Fry, 1973). Although evaluation data coming from many sources may tend to get involved, the chances become greater that fewer important aspects of the program will be neglected in the examination (Webb, et. al., 1966; and Moursund, 1973). In short, the social program evaluator must be flexible, and always innovative, in conducting an evaluation of a social program (Weiss and Rein, 1969; Rippey, 1973; Deutscher, 1974; Deutscher, 1975; Talmage, 1975; and Ball, 1975).

The Evaluation Process

Just as there is no single, accepted outline for the procedure known as "the scientific method," the process of evaluation also has no single set of steps or procedures which to follow in conducting an evaluation. In the jargon of evaluation, such processes may be called various names. In the literature, "the process of evaluation" may be subsumed under such labels as models, frameworks, or approaches to evaluation (Steele, 1973). Generally, all these terms refer to the same thing, the evaluation process. Rather than to advocate any one particular model over another, we have found that there are similarities among the models (Wetherill and Buttram, 1976). As such, we have identified that the evaluation process encompasses several separate steps.

Logically, any process, especially the evaluation process, must have both a starting point and an ending point. The starting point of the evaluation process was identified as beginning somewhere prior to the actual implementation of an evaluation design. The ending point was identified as falling soon after the evaluation exercise was completed. These two points in the process of evaluation were considered important enough to be phases in and of themselves. Between these two starting and ending phases in the process, we identified three basic phases which, totaled, represent a five-phase process of evaluation. Overall, the process of evaluation as presented in Figure 1 lists the five elements which are more or less common to all the evaluation designs which we examined.

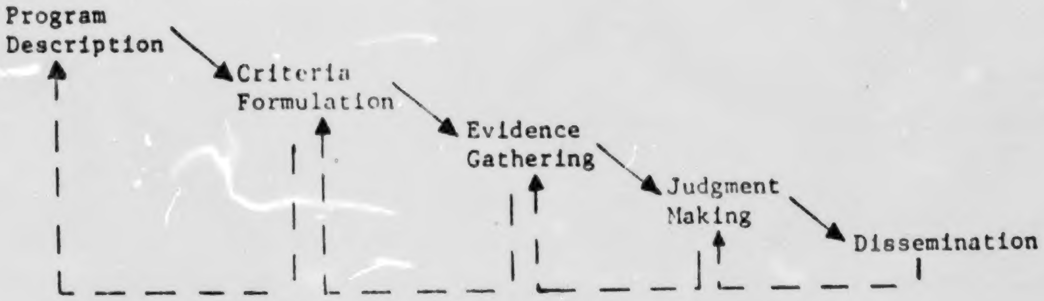

Figure 1.

This process of evaluation is of course very general in appearance. The benefits of this generalized procedure are found mostly in its flexibility. With a general framework such as this, an evaluator may specify within each of the basic phases the process of evaluation which is most applicable to the social program being evaluated. The details are left up to the evaluator or the evaluation team.

The program description phase is the beginning phase of the evaluation process. During this phase the evaluator describes the program. This documentation is an attempt to put down on paper what the program is all about. This serves to direct the evaluator, program staff, and appropriate audiences as to the program's primary goals and what its courses of action have been. Generally, this first phase consists of a written description of the program which serves as a documentation of the goals and operations of the program.

The criteria formulation phase focuses the evaluation on specific aspects of the program. While it is important to consider the objectives of the program in setting up these criteria, it is almost impossible to systematically examine all aspects of the program. What is helpful here is to identify the most critical areas of the program's operation. These critical areas then become the focus of the evaluation. Standards, or acceptable levels of performance, must be developed for each of these criteria. Again, the objectives of the program cannot be ignored in the establishment of evaluation criteria.

The evidence gathering phase concerns itself with the gathering of evaluative data. This phase in the process of evaluation specifies the data to be collected for evaluation evidence. Evidence is gathered concerning the performance or operation of the program according to the evaluation criteria formulated and established in the preceding phase. Data is collected during this phase on each of the specified evaluation criteria. Construction of instruments and appropriate statistical analyses of collected data occur during this phase. At this point the evaluation is probably more similar to the traditional research investigation than at any other phase in the evaluation process. The skills and knowledge required of the evaluator relate to the principles and mechanics of research design, methodology, and analysis.

The judgment-making phase is the most important phase in the whole evaluation process. Without judgment-making there would be no evaluation. The process of making judgments is usually left up to the evaluator. As a starting point for making judgments on the program, the process of evaluation requires that the data collected for evaluation be compared to the criteria established for evaluation and judgments be made on this information regarding the performance of the program. Such judgments are usually based on the discrepancy between the ideal conditions presented in the criteria and the real conditions a indicated by the data collection effort. Judgments and/or program alternatives are based upon the recognition and identifications of such discrepancies.

The dissemination phase is the last phase of the evaluation process. Very few guidelines or procedures for reporting evaluation results have been set down. However, such findings are usually reported back to clients. Sometimes special contractual arrangements are made to include wider audiences. The use of the evaluative findings depends upon the status of the program operation. However, it is very important to remember that evaluation results must be fed back into the program. Only through such feedback can an evaluation make an impact upon future programming and program decisions.

These then are the five basic phases to the evaluation process. Although these five phases are necessary in any evaluation, additional specifications may easily be made within the phases in order to customize the process to any rural development program under examination. It must also be noted, that these phases, or any specification thereof, do not necessarily have to be in a straight linear sequence. In other words, the process of evaluation is not locked into a 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 sequence. Re-specifications may have to be made during the process of evaluation. When such becomes the case, it is necessary to retreat back to an earlier phase in the development of the evaluation (dotted arrows, Figure 1.) so that the program may be adequately evaluated. Re-documentation of the program, or respecification of the criteria, may have to be done, especially due to the often dynamic nature of development projects.

Problems and Pitfalls

Needless to say, program evaluation is a dangerous thing. Evaluation has in its power the fate of the program. Misunderstandings as to the conduct of evaluation may often lead to splits in program staff sometimes going in as many as three directions, including administrators, evaluators, and field workers, all on different sides of the issue (Glennan, 1972; Suchman, 1971; and Wright and Hyman, 1964). Until such a time as the process of evaluation is more completely understood by all rural development personnel, any evaluator or potential evaluator of a rural development project must be aware of the problems and pitfalls inherent in the evaluation research enterprise. A brief list of some of the things an evaluator should be concerned with in order to avoid problems might look something like this:

(1) The ethical responsibilities of an evaluator should be beyond reproach (Clinton, 1976).

(2) The responsibility for program evaluation should be delegated to one person. This would include the commensurate authority to best be able to implement evaluation plans (Bernstein and Freeman, 1975; and Cosby, et. al., 1976).

(3) The total staff of the program should be informed about what is going on in an evaluation. Evaluation plans must be communicated to all relevant program personnel, so there are no surprises with respect to what is going to happen for the evaluation (Stufflebeam, et. al., 1971; and Moursund, 1973).

(4) Reliance on a single source of data as evidence for evaluation should be scrutinized most closely. Data from many different sources usually lends more validity to evaluation evidence (Webb, et. al., 1966; and Moursund, 1973).

(5) The evaluator is usually treated as in intruder into the program. As such, he must be aware of the pressures and constraints on the program being

evaluated. The evaluator must be a diplomat (Longood and Simmel, 1972; Weiss, 1972; and Bogdon, 1975).

(6) The evaluator along with program staff, must get together early in the process of evaluation in order to negotiate the terms of evaluation. Areas of such negotiation include: ways and means of dissemination, access to project personnel and records, audiences for the evaluation results, roles and responsibilities of the evaluator, etc. (Benedict, 1973; Burton, 1976; Provus, 1971; and United Nations, 1962).

(7) The evaluator, as well as the evaluation, must be flexible. Usually, the dynamic nature of rural development programs precludes a strict reliance on detailed evaluation schedules. To a certain degree, evaluation plans should not act as a straight-jacket to evaluation (Suchman, 1967).

(8) Under most circumstances, evaluators ought not to get embroiled with actual decision-making functions in a program. The typical role of the evaluator might be that of spelling out options for program alternatives but not that of making actual decisions exclusive of program staff (Moursund, 1973).

(9) The evaluator should be committed to evaluation. His attitude toward the evaluation process should be positive. This is in contrast to his attitude toward the program which should be unbiased (Bogdon, 1975; and Suchman, 1967).

(10) Evaluation feedback should be given to appropriate program personnel as the evaluation progresses. This does not mean, however, that evaluation results should be given out prematurely (Stufflebeam, et. al., 1971; and Moursund, 1973).

(11) If possible, get someone to react to your evaluation plans before implementing the plans. But know when to stop asking for advice (Benedict, 1973; Burton, 1976; and Weiss, 1972).

The program evaluator is a potentially powerful yet potentially dangerous role. An evaluator must be a specialized generalist. The evaluator must have a knowledge of basic research methods and statistics, techniques of evaluation (the evaluator's bag of tricks), a knowledge of program development techniques (including proposal writing, budgeting, staffing, program planning, program implementation, and above all, the ability to define goals and objectives), and knowledge of both the social system in which the program is operating as well as interpersonal dynamics internal to the program.

In sum, a program evaluator, as well as program evaluation, is in a unique position to aid rural development. Rural development programs which have evaluation built into the program not only have a higher likelihood of success, but are also good examples for subsequent development programs. There is no magic formula for evaluation, nor is any program evaluator a magician. The fact remains, however, that program evaluation has become almost mandatory not only for rural development programs, but also for social action programs in general. The more that is known about the evaluative research enterprise, the better it will be for the acceptance of evaluative results, hence program improvement. When this occurs, evaluative research will not be the "shady" enterprise which many people suggest that it is.

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Some Problems of Evaluation and Related Research in Rural Alcoholism Programs

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Some Problems of Evaluation and Related Research in Rural Alcoholism Programs[1]

The evaluation of comprehensive alcoholism treatment programs is a relatively new challenge to the field of evaluation research because of several factors. First, comprehensive alcoholism treatment itself is relatively new. Traditionally, alcoholics and their treatment has been relegated to either a medical setting (private physicians and clinics, mental hospitals and veterans hospitals), self-helped programs (A.A.) or legal agencies (courts and jails).

The concept of comprehensive community treatment calls on the above resources as well as many others, including state vocational rehabilitation, community mental health centers, welfare and other human services agencies. In response to a recently developing concern over the scope of problem and abusive drinking, many state, local, and federal agencies as well as various private and semi-private foundations and other organizations have begun to provide money for the establishment and support of comprehensive, community-based alcoholism treatment programs.[2]

Paralleling the trend toward providing treatment for alcoholics has developed a demand for accountability in government and related human services agencies. The problem approached in this paper, then, is in determining whether individual community-based alcoholism programs can be held accountable for the success or viability of the community-based treatment approach.[3]

The field of alcoholism treatment is one filled with paradoxes and contradictions. The four traditional approaches (medical, self-help, psychological-psychiatric, and legal) have had only spotty coordination, and instead have generally been involved in either competing with one another or attempting to ignore one another.

Trice has pointed out, for instance, that the largest and oldest self-help organization for alcoholics, Alcoholics Anonymous has a history of claiming the territory for itself, while seeking the legitimation of endorsement by the medical profession. A.A. itself is very resistant to any attempts at direct participation in its program by non-alcoholic professionals. [4]

The medical profession has a similar ambivalent attitude toward alcoholics. Private physicians tend to be very resistant to what they see as any infringement on their professional perrogative by consulting or working with non-medical professionals in alcoholism treatment. Psychiatrists also vary in their attitudes from those who refuse to treat alcoholics, to those who see the whole problem in psychoanalytic terms, and therefore in their exclusive realm of expertise.[5]

Legal agencies seem to view the problem from conflicting perspectives as well. Some tend to view the problem in terms of public nuisance (i.e. public drunkenness and driving under the influence) which should be suppressed with all the power of the law. Others seem to view the problem in terms of an administrative problem which they are only too happy to be relieved of.[6]

Public attitudes toward the alcoholism also run the gamut and can be important insofar as they influence the attitudes of human services agencies toward cooperation with community alcoholism treatment programs. For example, if a vocational rehabilation officer views alcoholism as a form of self-inflicted moral degradation, the extent of cooperation he will be willing to give to the treatment center could be limited by that attitude.[7]

Let us then attempt to deal with the evaluation of the community-based alcoholism program in the above terms. The success of the program in accomplishing comprehensive treatment is not entirely an internal affair. Reaching and treating alcoholics depends on receiving referrals and cooperation from many agencies in the community; consequently preexisting attitudes toward alcoholism in the medical, human services, and legal agencies in the community are critical. In this case, good public relations are a necessity. Public relations is difficult to quantify and therefore, evaluate.

A second, equally important factor in the evaluation of treatment facilities is that of treatment philosophy. Two conflicting philosophies of treatment prevail currently, The first philosophy I will characterize as the psychological-social work approach. This approach is typified by the use of such concepts as "outreach" (finding and bringing in alcoholics), "aftercare" continuing to support and check upon alcoholic after intense treatment), "day care" (self-explanatory), and "continuity of care" (keeping track of referrals to make sure no client is lost moving from one place of comprehensive treatment to another). This approach has evolved from the treatment of mental patients.[8]

In contrast to the social work approach is the self-help philosophy which emphasizes the belief that an alcoholic cannot be helped unless he desires and seeks help himself. This approach emphasizes the necessity for the alcoholic to assume personal responsibility before and during the treatment process through the development of internal controls supplemented by help from other recovering alcoholics. This philosophy has evolved from the A.A. approach to alcoholism. Although the ultimate goals of the programs may be the same, intermediate objectives, success rates (due to self-selective factors), and program contents may vary according to these philosophies.[9]

Unfortunately, many programs do not clearly state their philosophies for the evaluator, and, indeed, many programs have personnel and procedures in their operations which result in a mix of these potentially [illegible]atible approaches.

Particularly critical in a rural setting is the factor of dispersal of the alcoholic population and the difficulty of mobility of many alcoholics due to unemployment, loss of driver's license, and poverty, especially among minority populations. For example, aftercare is very expensive in a dispersed population. However, seeking help without outreach and aftercare may be impossible for many rural alcoholics.

Other aspects of the lack of uniformity in standards and expectations in the field of alcoholism treatment can complicate analysis. For example, many treatment facilities are not comprehensive at all. Some specialize in detoxification; others refuse to detoxify, but accept referrals who are already "dry" or detoxified (e.g. half-way houses). Some insist on medical detoxification; others insist on non-medical detoxification. Some programs accept all applicants; others accept only poverty cases, others accept only those they evaluate as having proper motivation and therefore high potential for success, and still others accept only paying clients. Some can collect from "third parties" (insurance companies). Some are profit-oriented and others function as non-profit programs. Many treatment centers function as extensions of community mental health centers, while others are competing with and suspicious of the mental health model. This is particularly true of those subscribing to the self-help philosophy of treatment. Some function within or as hospitals; others are suspicious of the medical model. Some operate in only one setting; others have satellites based on geographic or specialized functional considerations.

The demands of funding and licensing agencies also place limitations on the functioning of treatment centers which have implications for evaluation. In many cases, each funding agency will have its own record-keeping system, resulting in a relative inefficiency of staff usage in direct treatment due to the time spent in record-keeping. Licensing and accrediting agencies (e.g. the Joint Commission on Accreditation of hospitals which also accredits alcoholism and mental health programs) may make aesthetic, record-keeping and other demands which also consume staff time, shape program content and limit effectiveness.[10]

While the complexities and contradictions mentioned above can complicate the job of the evaluation research, certain aspects of the general ethos of the field also make the evaluator's task difficult. In addition to the normal amount of resistance to evaluation, certain factors frequently found among workers in the field tend to make them resistant to what they consider unsympathetic professional scrutiny. Many workers and volunteers are recovering* alcoholics who have experienced themselves or absorbed from fellow alcoholics the hostility and rejection of professionals such as physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers who, due to their inability to help the alcoholic through traditional professional approaches, tend to reduce the consequent dissonance through avoiding the alcoholic or displacing the blame for the failure of treatment on the alcoholic exclusively.[11] Alcoholics who have had this experience tend to return the rejection in the form of suspicion and resistance to scrutiny by outsiders who are seen as not understanding alcoholics.

This anti-professional or anti-intellectual bias can be seen in the almost fundamentalist religious-like faith in the A.A. twelve steps and in reactions to the recent findings relating to programs for controlled drinking for former abusive drinkers.[12]

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*"Recovering" is the preferred term to "reformed" or "former" alcoholic.

Access to records of clients can also be problematic in the evaluation process. Most, if not all clinics operate on the assurance of confidentiality of clients' records, and federal regulations assure this confidentiality.[13] While the regulations are designed primarily to protect clients from scrutiny of their records by law enforcement and unauthorized government agencies which might use the information against the client, some agencies are overly cautious and attempt to deny access to records even for legitimate reasearch purposes, which are specifically allowed under federal guidelines. Fears of civil suits may be one reason for this caution, but other motives such as fear of evaluation itself may also be involved.

Another factor which complicates access to patients' records and consequently evaluation of success with clients is the scattered location of these records. For example, a patient who is referred to a clinic may be referred back or on to another treatment center after treatment in a particular setting. With the referral, the client's records are frequently sent as well. Therefore, unless the researcher has the time, resources, and cooperation of all treatment centers involved with treatment of every client involved in a particular center, many, if not most cases will be lost from the evaluation process, since the ultimate outcome of his treatment is unknown. Also, if a client is treated by an alcoholism treatment center which is attached to a community mental health center, his records may be sent to the center or satellite in his home county or catchment area upon completion of treatment, or sent to another type of center if the case requires some sort of extended treatment (e.g. aftercare, half-way house, etc).

While the problems of access to data necessary for evaluation are great, probably the greatest problem is in defining success itself, especially in individual cases. When dealing with alcoholics, one has highly variable raw material, as clients will vary across the human spectrum from poor, minority, skid-row type, brain-damaged, aged, to young, bright, middle-to-upper class. Drinking history will vary as well. Consequently, defining rehabilitation in terms of specific universal goals of treatment is difficult. In some cases, placement in a total care institution (e.g. a nursing home) with enforced control over drinking behavior may be a success, whereas internalized drinking control may be a reasonable expectation for success for another client. Some programs define success strictly in terms of improvement in personal social situation and reduced frequency of excessive drinking lapses. These goals must obviously be determined in individual cases, based on the potential of the individual as perceived by himself and the treatment staff. Obviously, this leaves the staff of the individual clinic tremendous latitude in determining what will be accepted as success in an individual case.

Success will also depend on other factors such as the availability of other community resources, family support for treatment, and the degree to which treatment staff are willing to accept improvement rather than total abstinence as a defined success. The evaluation implication of this is that, for example, one center may accept only complete, long-term abstinence as a defined success in any case, whereas another clinic might accept any improvement in the client's social situation as success. If the researcher accepts the clinic's definitions of success, he may evaluate the program of a particular clinic as more effective, even though this clinic would rank lower if evaluated in terms of success as defined by another clinic. On the other hand, if both clinics defined success similarly, but were located in areas which had alcoholic populations or available community resources which varied significantly, a similar problem in evaluation would occur. A skid-row clinic would be hard-put to achieve the same abstinence success-rate as a surburban one with primarily middle-class alcoholics, simply because the skid-row alcoholics would be expected to be further deteriorated socially and physically and have more ingrained drinking patterns than typical middle-class alcoholics. On the other hand, a rural clinic with a less difficult client population may be limited in its success rate by a lack of available community human service agencies to support its program.

Many programs have successfully avoided evaluation altogether by avoiding funding sources which require anything more than the traditional fiscal accounting procedures. Others have developed an internal tracking and evaluation program combined with periodic on-site visits by agents of funding agencies. Many such agencies consider this informal evaluation quite sufficient and avoid anything that implies more rigorous forms of evaluative research, especially if it involves comparison with other competing agencies. Obviously, the internal evaluation staff has a vested interest in continuing to satisfy funding agencies, and a much smaller interest in the advancement of treatment effectiveness through evaluation research. On the other hand, the resistance to "objective" outside evaluation is possibly due to some extent to an awareness on the part of the staff that the complexities in variables related to successful treatment may not be fully understood or taken into account by outside evaluators.

The need demonstrated above may not be entirely clear, but it nevertheless exists. What seems to be needed at this point is a clarification of specific action which can minimize the problems in evaluation research and amplify its scientific and clinical applicability.

First, research is needed which can classify treatment centers and clients into generally comparable categories, so that evaluation will involve comparison with other centers which are similar in all major respects. If centers feel there is a standard to which they are being compared which is fair and valid, then at least some of their objections to evaluation can be overcome.

Second, a system of classification of types of centers and clients could yield data which would allow researchers and clinicians to work together to match treatment philosophy, treatment modality, etc. to particular client characteristics, thereby increasing success potential. The results of such matching would yield a setting in which the evaluator would not only be able to say whether a particular treatment center was effective, but instead would be able to say why, through an analysis of the match between client characteristics and treatment given at the center. Consequently, evaluation could become a process through which treatment centers would be able to improve their effectiveness as a result of the evaluation process itself.

Notes

1. This paper is based on the author's experience in treatment and organizational consultation in the field of alcoholism. While it is partially impressionistic, it is based on his own research efforts, and seems to be borne out by research and experience by others in the field.

2. Biegal, et al "Planning for the Development of Comprehensive Alcoholism Services." American Journal of Psychiatry 131:1112-21 (October, 1974).

3. Public Law 94-63 requires that federal grants include a 2% provision for evaluation.

4. Trice, H. M., and Roman, P. M. "Delabeling, Relabeling, and Alcoholics Anonymous," Social Problems, 11:538-546 (March, 1970).

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9. Goldstern, M. S. "Mental Models of Alcoholism" Journal of Studies on Alcoholism, 36:925-37 (July, 1975).

10. See, for example Accrediation Manual for Alcoholism Programs - The Joint Commission on Accrediation of Hospitals Chicago (1974).

11. Fisher, op. cit.

12. "Forty-Four Questions" (Alcoholics Anonymous Pamphlet) Works Publishing, Inc. (New York, 1952) p 17. Also, the "Twelve Steps" closely approximate a fundamentalist religious conversion experience.

13. Federal Register, Volume 40 #127 (July 1, 1975) entire number.

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AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED FOREST INCENDIARISTS*

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INTRODUCTION

Annually, the Southern Forests are victimized by wildfire. For the period 1966-1975, the thirteen states constituting the Southern region[1] experienced 59,558 forest fires on protected lands (Annual Wildfire Statistics, 1975). This number of fires accounted for fifty-five percent of the nation's wildfires on twenty percent of its protected forest acreage. Thus, as pointed out by Doolittle (1967), it is no wonder that "In the Southeastern section of the United States, the consensus among woodland owners and/or administrators is that the forest public enemy number one is fire."

Although fire has been labeled as the destructive agent threatening the woodlands of the South, a classification of fires by causal type implicates man as the "vector" transmitting this agent to the forest "host" (Folkman, 1967). Statistics show that nearly ninety-eight percent of all Southern fires were in some way caused by man and that almost forty percent of these man caused fires were of an incendiary nature.[2] Moreover, indications are from this large number of deliberate fire sets in the South (Southern incendiarism explains eighty-one percent of the nation's incendiary fire rate) that even though some people believe fire is "forest public enemy number one," a substantial number of Southerners feel that some other agent is a greater enemy of the forest public than is fire.

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[1] These states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

[2] An incendiary fire, as defined by the U.S. Forest Service, is a fire willfully set by anyone to burn vegetation or property not owned or controlled by him and without consent of the owner or his agent. See Glossary of Terms Used in Forest Fire Control United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Agricultural Handbook No. 104, Washington, D.C., August 1956.

SELECTED RESEARCH

The persistently high rates of man caused fire in the Southern Region were the impetus behind sociological research begun in the late 1930's. The objectives of these early studies were to explore the reasons underlying fire starts, who sets the fires, and how fire setting could be curtailed (Kaufman, 1938).

Since the incipient studies into factors related to man caused fire, much time and effort have been expended in an attempt to identify the most relevant factors associated with people and forest fire. A portion of these endeavors are illustrated in reports presenting information on the socioeconomic and sociodemographic characteristics of selected populations (Hansbrough, 1961; Kaufman and Cole, 1966; Johnson, 1968), the social structure and cultural systems in designated forest areas (Weltner, 1942; Jones, 1964; Doolittle, 1967), and the attitudinal patterns and characteristics of selected forest residents (Curtis, 1938; Kaufman, 1938; Morris, 1958; Baird, 1965; Bertrand, et al.; 1970, Wanger and Baird, 1974).

Succinctly, most of the above studies have either examined objective social indicators assumed correlated with area fire rates or explored the culture and attitudes of forest residents in areas of high incendiarism. In the studies examining the more objective social indicators, fire rates have been found closely related to median years of education, standard of living, population density, population change, and white race. And, from the more subjective cultural and attitudinal studies, researchers have concluded that in areas of high incendiarism attitudinal differences between the rural residents and forest agencies are consequences of cultural differences which lead to conflict situations and contribute to an environment conducive to woods burning. Moreover, these socio-cultural studies have enabled some researchers to identify "Latent Incendiarists" (Bertrand, et al.; 1970) and high risk individuals (Baird and Doolittle, 1969).

However, because of the illicit and covert nature of the incendiary fire act, study of the social and cultural phenomena has not focused directly upon the forest incendiarist but upon the forest resident in areas of high incendiarism. Therefore, the social and cultural attributes of the fire setter per se were not examined in their own right but have been extrapolated from the socio-cultural characteristics of the forest resident.

In a recent study, researchers implemented the first Southern study** that actually examined the forest incendiarist (Dunkelberger and Altobellis, 1975).

**One study was conducted in the Western region which focused upon youthful incendiarists. See: Ellen Y. Siegelman and William S. Folkman, "YOUTHFUL FIRE-SETTERS. . . an exploratory study in personality and background," Forest Service Research Note, PSW-230, USDA, Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1971.

Through the use of secondary data[3], they began preliminary steps in profiling the Southern fire setter. Although the data utilized in the study were not collected for the specific purpose of research[4], the researchers were able to characterize the forest incendiarist as:

> A young, married, white male with some high school education, who resides in a small family indigenous to the rural community and, although employed full-time, has a poor social and financial reputation, but no police record.

For the most part, the profile presented by Dunkelberger and Altobellis portrays an individual whose socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics reflect those of the rural population found to live in areas of high incendiarism. The study has also augmented the knowledge on incendiarism by adding to the incendiary literature personal attributes of known woods burners. However, because of the nature of the study and lack of needed information, it only touches upon the socio-cultural qualities of the incendiarist and underlying factors related to deliberate fire sets. This is lucid in Dunkelberger and Altobellis' concluding statement that "Further research is indicated, which will focus on actual case studies of individuals previously arrested and convicted of woods-arson, to better understand the motivational influences associated with incendiarism" (Dunkelberger and Altobellis, 1975).

THE PROBLEM

Past research efforts concerned with ferreting out correlates to man caused fires have shed light upon the predisposed risk factors surrounding perennial hot spots. To add another dimension to the knowledge already compiled on incendiarism, it is necessary to examine the most salient elements of the fire act, i.e., the actor, the attitudes and motivations underlying the act, and the overall situational context in which the act was consummated. In an effort to increase understanding of these elements relevant to the fire act, this paper focused upon the known forest incendiarist in his social milieu.

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[3] The information source for the research was the Forest Service Trespass Report which is "prepared for every case in which there is evidence that a law or regulation has been violated, or negligence can be established and the trespassers identity known." For further information see: J.E. Dunkelberger and A.T. Altobellis, "Profiling the Woods-burner: An Analysis of Fire Trespass Violations in the South's National Forests," Bulletin 469, Agricultural Experiment Station, Auburn, Alabama (May, 1975).

[4] The Trespass Records are designed for Forest Service purposes and not for sociological research. Therefore, some of the information consists of approximations and subjective evaluations by Forest Service Personnel. In particular, we are referring to the social reputation of the incendiarist as perceived by Forest Service personnel.

The primary objective of this paper was the development of a socio-cultural profile of select forest incendiarists examined in the Dunkelberger and Altobellis (1975) study. This information, when combined with their description, will present a more complete picture of the woods arsonist.

As Dunkelberger and Altobellis (1975) note, "profiling the various characteristics of identifiable risk agents is a requisite step in the development of operational guidelines for evaluating man caused fire problems." Moreover, a profile including the attitudes of the actor, his interpretation of the situation leading to the act, and characteristics of the social environment from which he draws his basis for interpreting situations should be of paramount importance in helping forestry agencies design and implement fire prevention programs.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Selection of Cases: The primary source of information utilized in the selection of cases was the Case Data Outline prepared from fire Trespass Reports for the Dunkelberger and Altobellis research. Supplemental information was obtained by the researcher at the ranger district level and at the office of the special investigator assigned to the national forests in the states where the violation occurred.

Because of the nature of this study, it was impossible to examine all the incendiary cases provided in the Case Data Outline. Therefore, it was determined subjects should be selected from cases consisting of the following components: (1) Incendiary fires (2) set on National Forest Lands (3) in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi (4) by an individual whose identity is known. Inspection of the Case Data Outline provided a parent sample of eleven cases meeting these standards. From this sample, we purposively selected five cases based on the following criteria. These were: (1) The incendiarist's community of residence, (2) Date of fire, (3) Number of incendiarists per fire, (4) Stated motive for fire start, and (5) Fire rate for the study area.

Field Procedure: The field work for the study began in February of 1976 and was completed the following June. For the most part, the period of study encompassed what is generally referred to as the spring fire season.

Upon entering each study area, the investigator spent the first few days interviewing key respondents (Forest Service Personnel and County Agents) and observing the social organization and physical characteristics of the area under study. These brief meetings and talks with Forest Service personnel (rangers, range managers, law enforcement officers, and other technicians) and County Agents were fruitful events for gaining insight into technical aspects of the research problem and attitudinal factors relevant to the research. As a result of these preliminary interviews with agency personnel, a list of possible contacts was compiled and the names were placed on a Conservationist-Exploiter continuum. The continuum was based on both technical and opinionated information, and facilitated the attempt to interview a diversified sample of area residents.

After the investigator secured the preliminary information, interviewing was begun in the community of the incendiarist.[5] In the four study areas visited, a total of sixty-seven community members (excluding agency personnel) and six incendiarists were interviewed in depth.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Method of Analysis: The very nature of the data gathering techniques (observation and unstructured interviewing) employed in this study implicated an analytical procedure not readily disunited from the process of data collection itself. In all phases of the analysis of data, order was imposed on the mass of information produced through some form of content analysis (Dean, 1967). Although the study was designed for more of a qualitative analysis than quantitative, some rough percentages will be utilized to show the intensity of certain attitudes.

Presentation of Data: The data are presented in such a manner that the focus is on both the incendiarist and the community of residence of the incendiarist (the socio-cultural milieu from which the member, in part, draws his basis for defining objects and the manner in which he should act toward those objects). In brief, the paper will examine the attitudes of the incendiarist toward the Forest Service, the use of fire, and incendiarism in relation to the attitudes of other community members on these issues. Secondly, it will present information on the incendiarists' social participation and reputation as perceived by community members and as manifested in the interviews. This information will then be combined with the Dunkelberger and Altobellis (1975) findings to give a more detailed description of the select incendiarists.

FINDINGS *

The Orientation of the Incendiarist and the Community of the Incendiarist Toward the Forest Service: In each interview situation, certain topics were generally mentioned by the respondent relating to favorable or unfavorable aspects of the Forest Service's presence in the area. Likewise, many indications were expressed which shed light on the type of relations and/or the degree of rapport that existed between the resident and the Forest Service.

For the most part, the incendiarist perceived the presence of the Forest Service as a hindrance rather than a benefit. Five-sixths (83%) of those interviewed mentioned more unfavorable aspects than favorable. Most of the negative perceptions were related to Forest Service policies which the incendiarist felt interfered with his recreational use of the land (e.g., deadening hardwood, road closure, and cattle grazing) or policies concerned with woods burning (e.g., not burning enough and not assisting residents with burning but charging them if fire escaped onto Forest Service land). However, in some instances the incendiarist believed the Forest Service benefited the area recreationally through the construction of recreational areas and the guarantee that as long as the Forest Service controlled the land there would remain a place to hunt and fish.

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[5] Interviewing was aided by a focused interview guide constructed prior to the field expedition. However, since we wanted to tap the specific problem factors as perceived by the subjects we did not structure the interviews. Although the interviews were unstructured, certain relevant questions became standard inquiries.

* See summary tables in the appendix.

With regards to relations and rapport with the Forest Service, four-sixths (66%) of the incendiarists indicated that relations were poor. Although two (33%) of the respondents related that they were acquainted with employees of the Forest Service, most indications were that the Forest Service was really not concerned with the local resident (except cattlemen in some cases) unless a violation of Forest Service policy had occurred.

Even though the incendiarist was generally more negative than the average community member, he certainly was not deviant in his attitude toward the Forest Service. Approximately forty three percent (43%) of the community members mentioned more unfavorable aspects toward the Forest Service, while about fifty percent (50%) were more favorably disposed. The majority of both the favorable and unfavorable responses were in the broad categories of economics, recreation, and assistance to community members.

The community members were more positive in their statements of relations with the Forest Service than were the incendiarists. Approximately fifty-nine percent (59%), of the former were positive; twenty-eight percent (28%) negative; and thirteen percent (13%) neutral in their perceptions of relations. For the most part, the positive relations were mentions of casual acquaintances with Forest Service personnel (usually technicians living in the area), general statements of no open conflict, and an awareness that before burning one should call the tower.

In reference to statements of poor relations many of the community respondents (around fifty-two percent) did not mention acquaintances with an employee of the Forest Service. And, only eighteen percent (18%) of the sample indicated that they were familiar with the ranger. Also, sixty percent (60%) of the sample alluded to at least one unfavorable relation. Of this number, forty-three percent (43%) were in some way related to a conflict with Forest Service policy. Thus, it appears that for the community members, positive relations accrue from acquaintances with lower echelon personnel and not from sympathy with the goals of the agency.

Consequently, most of the community residents and incendiarists thought that relations could be improved if Forest Service officials would get out more among the people and inform them of their aims and goals on a friendly basis rather than being an impersonal enforcer of policy. Other than this communicative interaction, it was felt that if the Forest Service would prescribe burn more national forest land and assist community members in prescribe burning their land relations would improve.

The Orientation of the Incendiarist and the Community of the Incendiarist Toward the Use of Fire: The overwhelming attitude of the incendiarist was that burning the woods periodically under the right conditions is beneficial. And, in the case of four (66%) of the incendiarists there was an explanation of necessity in burning at least once every three years. The most mentioned reason for burning was to clear the woods of undergrowth, which is considered not only an unsightly nuisance to hunters, but also increases the chances of a serious fire. Moreover, the contacts felt the burning benefitted wildlife, cattle grazing, and helped rid the woods of pests.

The incendiarist was not alone in his feeling that woods burning is a constructive means of improving the environment. About eighty-seven percent (87%) of the community contacts concurred that prescribed burning is beneficial. As did the incendiarists, the community members ranked undergrowth, pests, grazing, and wildlife as the main reasons to burn. The majority felt that the woods should be burned every one to three years and very few said that they would wait past five years. About fifty-four percent (54%) of the community contacts stated that the woods in the area needed to be burned at the present.

In many instances, it was the attitudes toward woods burning that set both the community member and the incendiarist furtherest away from having favorable attitudes toward the Forest Service. More specifically, the belief that the forest needs burning more often than the agency burns and the fear of burning land contiguous the Forest Service enhanced the alienation between the two groups.

The Orientation of the Incendiarist and the Community of the Incendiarist Toward Incendiarism: Even though one-half of the areas visited showed signs of flagrant burning, five-sixths (83%) of the incendiarists did not feel that the community had a fire problem. Moreover, as was stated earlier four-sixths (66%) felt one of the area's needs was for the woods to be burned.

Again, the incendiarist was not alone in his opinion. At least seventy-seven percent (77%) of the community members did not feel that there was an area fire problem and seven percent (7%) said that even though there were a lot of little fires there were none that really did any damage. Several of the respondents, exemplifying that people do not still burn the woods like they used to, related that in the old days fires used to light the skies on a spring night.

When asked why and who set the fires, most of the incendiarists' answers mirrored their own reasons for firing the woods. One incendiarist (16%) that burned the forest because the thick undergrowth hampered his hunting stated that hunters burn the woods; another one (16%) that burned the woods for kicks related that kids with nothing better to do set the fires. In part, this contact blamed fires set by youth on the indulgent attitudes adults held toward the use of fire. Two (33%) other incendiarists burned because the woods were getting thick and full of pests; and the two (33%) that attributed fires to cattlemen (they denied burning the woods) were believed by some respondents to have set the fire for a cattleman and by others for kicks.

The community members were even more varied in their responses to the questions of why and by whom the fires were set. About forty-nine percent (49%) of the respondents that gave answers to this question said that kids set most of the fires, twenty-nine percent (29%) attributed them to adults, and twenty-one percent (21%) to all ages. Among the community members, the most often given reasons for wildfires were: (1) mischief, (2) conflict and cattlemen, and (3) negligence.

When asked about the criminality of woods burning, the incendiarists

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showed mixed emotions. Three (50%) of the incendiarists indicated general support for people that burn the woods. These firesetters indicated that fires set to burn the undergrowth are not as bad as the undergrowth. Moreover, four (66%) of the incendiarists were indignant because of the stiff penalty incurred in relation to the damage caused from the fire. Another one (16%) felt burning the woods was not as much of a crime as illegal hunting. Only one (16%) of the incendiarists perceived woods arson as being as bad as stealing, but three (50%) said that they guessed the penalty had to be high if the Forest Service was going to stop people from burning the woods. However, as one (16%) incendiarist put it, "if they (the Forest Service) would do their job then people like myself would not have to burn the woods." Moreover, five-sixths (83%) of the incendiarists did not think that the other community members felt that burning the woods was a serious offense.

The incendiarists was fairly accurate in assuming that community members do not feel that arson is a bad offense. Around forty-nine percent (49%) of the community respondents in one way or another revealed supportive attitudes toward incendiary burning. Some community contacts indicated they had burned the woods themselves, and others mentioned situations in which they would fire the woods. However, only about eighteen percent (18%) of the contacts disagreed that burning someone elses property is an offense similar in seriousness to stealing. Just seven percent (7%) indicated that the penalty for woods arson is too high. On the other hand, forty-eight percent (48%) of those community respondents questioned felt the penalty was in line with the offense, and twenty-seven percent (27%) saw woods arson as being as bad as stealing.

In reference to the incendiarist, about forty-three percent (43%) of the community contacts evinced attitudes indicating that the incendiarist they knew had at least a fair social character. Also, in some instances the community members (around thirty percent) were sympathetic with the incendiarists's fire setting behavior and/or antipathetic with the action taken by the Forest Service. At the same time, approximately forty percent (40%) of the community members made negative remarks concerning the social character of those known to have burned the woods.

Some Personal and Social Characteristics of the Select Incendiarist: As was noted in the Dunkelberger and Altobellis (1975) profile, the forest incendiarist lives in a small family indigenous to the rural community; however, outside of the family group, the incendiarists examined in our study were found to have few social ties. Only one (16%) of the incendiarists belonged to an organization other than the church (a C.B. club); only three (50%) participated in church activities. Moreover, only three (50%) of the incendiarists mentioned community friendships outside of the family.

In reference to the Dunkelberger and Altobellis indication of full-time employment, our data revealed that from the time of the fire set all but two (33%) of the incendiarists had changed jobs at least once. Also, in a double visit with two (33%) of the incendiarists in less than a month, it was found that they were employed on the first encounter but unemployed on the second.

Although information concerning the social and financial reputation of the incendiarists was difficult to obtain from community members, some insight was gained into their reputations. As stated earlier, about forty-three percent (43%) of the community sample had supportive responses concerning the incendiarist. But, many of these statements were generalities or about other people known to have set the woods on fire. In the case of our incendiary subjects remarks were more favorable in some areas than in others. In one neighborhood where there were close family ties, around eighty-eight percent (88%) of the respondents held a favorable opinion of the incendiarist. In another area nearly fifty percent (50%) of the residents contacted perceived the incendiarist as having a bad social and financial reputation.[6]

From observation and many of the interviews, it was evident that most of the fire setters were not enjoying a high standard of living in comparison to a large number of the local residents. These observations coincided with some of the community contacts that implicated the area fire setter as being "lower class" and a "welfare type."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Utilizing the information presented in the analysis of data, it is possible to present a general socio-cultural description of our six cases and a sociological interpretation of the social and cultural underpinnings of their behavior. Before presenting this, however, we should point out a few limitations of this paper.

The first point that we should call attention to is the fact that this study is an indepth view of only six incendiarists in three states. Thus, we are not able to make general statements concerning the Southern forest incendiarist. Secondly, the study was designed for much more qualification of the data than can be presented in a paper of this nature. And, thirdly, the techniques of data collection used in this study are subject to researcher bias and error, although many precautions were taken to keep such bias and errors to a minimum.

An Interpretative Socio-Cultural Description of the Select Forest Incendiarists: The forest incendiarist was found in this study to be a resident of a small rural community or neighborhood. Generally, he was more of a social isolate than the average community member contacted. His closest social ties were with his immediate family or other relatives.

Within the organizational sphere, the incendiarist tended not to participate as much as the other respondents interviewed. Although the incendiarist's contributions to the communities social institutions were minimal, the residents' perceptions concerning his social and financial reputation varied. Socially, the incendiarist appeared to be perceived as having a marginal character (not outstanding but not bad); while economically, he seemed somewhat below the average community resident with an unstable employment history.

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[6] In every community visited, it was hard to get the community members to divulge information and/or names concerning the incendiarist. In the area where negative attitudes were prevalent, it was discovered that the fire setter has a history of violating the law. Moreover, the respondents revealed that arson in this area entailed more than just woods burning. Because of certain circumstances, the incendiarists in this locality were not interviewed.

With regard to the Forest Service, the incendiarist had mixed emotions concerning its benefit to the area. In many ways, he perceived the agency as a bureaucracy that had only a perfunctory interest in local people and whose policies were a detriment to his way of life and environment. Thus, it is no wonder that he felt the best way the Forest Service could improve relations is to interact with and lend some assistance to community members when there are community wants that conflict with Forest Service policy. It is this alienation from the Forest Service and their goals that makes him the most hostile to their presence (e.g., the recreational and conservationist goals of the incendiarist differ from the timber management goals of the Forest Service).

The incendiarist was not as vehemently opposed to the Forest Service controlling the land as he was frustrated with his inability to exercise power over his own environment. This was especially the case for those incendiarists who wanted to burn their own land coterminous to the Forest Service, but cannot for fear of legal ramifications.

Although the incendiarists did not participate extensively in the social realm, his attitudes toward the Forest Service, the use of fire, and incendiarism reflected the opinions of numerous residents which composed his community of residence. Nevertheless, he was a little more negative in his viewpoint toward the Forest Service and favored burning, to a small extent, more than the average resident contacted.

In concluding, it is our position that the incendiarist, although far from being a social pillar in the community, reveals an attitude toward the Forest Service and woods burning similar to his community of residence. Thus, the belief that the woods should have been burned was a social attitude grounded in custom and tradition which emanated from the larger community. Therefore, the fire setting behavior of the incendiarist was not based merely on a psychological caprice or predisposition toward the Forest Service but, in part, on a social definition of how he should act toward the object of the forest. This was a definition which to him outweighted the consequences of violating a Forest Service policy. And, even though his actions were a violation of a legal statute, they were not necessarily a moral violation that received severe community sanctions. Thus, the act which may be perceived, by some, as an egotistic (non-social) form of behavior is, in many instances, felt by the incendiarist to be altruistic behavior.

Finally, while there was not found to be a cohesive group of interacting individuals embodying a specific incendiarist subculture, there is a preponderance of attitudes in these four communities of three deep South states conducive to woods burning. This would give reason to believe that the Forest Service is not simply faced with a handful of incendiarists acting from personal whims, but the agency is still confronted by a system of norms that can be labeled a Southern Subculture of Incendiarism.

APPENDIX

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF THE COMMUNITY CONTACTS AND THE INCENDIARISTS ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FOREST SERVICE.

	ASPECTS		RELATIONS	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
Community Contact *	50%	43%	59%	28%
Incendiarist	17%	83%	34%	66%

*Discrepancy from 100% is attributed to contacts that had an equal number of favorable and unfavorable responses.

TABLE II. COMPARISON OF THE COMMUNITY CONTACTS AND THE INCENDIARISTS ATTITUDES TOWARD THE USE OF FIRE.

	Community Contact	Incendiarist
Favor prescribe burning	87%	100%
Necessity in burning	54%	66%
General frequency woods should be burned	1 to 3 years	1 to 3 years
Rank order of major reasons for burning		
Undergrowth	1	1
Wildlife	4	2
Cattle grazing	3	3
Pests	2	4

TABLE III. COMMUNITY CONTACTS AND INCENDIARISTS ATTITUDES TOWARD INCENDIARISM.

	Community Contact	Incendiarist
No incendiary problem	77%	83%
Rank order of perceived motives for incendiarism		
Mischief	1	3
Conflict	2	-
Grazing	2	2
Negligence	3	-
Pests/undergrowth	4	1
Rank order of perceived incendiarists		
Youth	1	2
Adults	2	1
All Ages	3	2
Marginal support for an incendiary act	49%	50%
Perception of incendiarism as being as bad as stealing	27%	16%
Perception of penalty for burning being fair	48%	50%
Perception of fair social reputation of incendiarist	43%	---
Perception of community condoning incendiary behavior	---	83%

NOTE: The question in this paper is not one of significant differences between attitudes of the incendiarist and the attitudes of the community contacts; but, the question was whether or not the attitude held by the incendiarist was socially grounded. For example: If 100% of the incendiarists held a negative attitude toward the Forest Service and 50% of the community members held a similar attitude the differences between the two groups would be statistically significant. On the other hand, the fact that 50% of the community contacts held similar attitudes to the incendiarist lends credence to the statement that the attitude is socially grounded.

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THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF OUTDOOR RECREATIONAL PARTICIPATION AS A PREDICTOR OF WILLINGNESS-TO-PAY: A SUGGESTED MODEL AND ANALYSIS*

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THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF OUTDOOR RECREATIONAL PARTICIPATION AS A PREDICTOR OF WILLINGNESS-TO-PAY: A SUGGESTED MODEL AND ANALYSIS

The Problem

Two essential points are argued in this paper. The first centers on what we believe to be the somewhat misplaced focus of many current recreational analyses. Briefly, many researchers appear content to focus primarily upon models designed to predict the activity levels of outdoor recreational participation (Cf. White, 1975). Although important, we argue that this particular issue appears to be conditioned heavily by the increasing costs incurred to private persons and groups relative to their attainment of recreational opportunities. As Clawson and Knetsch (1969:265) point out, the provision of outdoor recreation is not without costs, and as a method for obtaining finances for the maintenance of recreation areas, the technique of charges levied directly on users of public outdoor recreational facilities is growing in application. User charges for public recreation areas should have very definite effects upon use levels. Attendance for different kinds of recreation areas should be differently affected by different price policies, and the demand for such areas should vary significantly with price structures.[1] Consequently, we argue that the emphasis of recreational analyses should be broadened to include not only the prediction of participation intensity but also to predicting appropriate price structures, or what may be called willingness-to-pay.

The above discussion leads to our second point, and here we suggest that at least for this effort, participation be treated as a predictor variable rather than as a dependent variable, which has traditionally been the case.[2] Simply stated, we believe it is time to intensify our search for new variables which will better differentiate the members of society on a wide variety of different leisure time issues, including the willingness to pay for recreational opportunities (Cf. Pinhey and Grimes, 1976).

In light of the above, our purpose in this paper is to construct and test a statistical model designed to predict projected willingness-to-pay for specific recreational experiences.

The Literature

In the absence of guidelines concerning willingness-to-pay specifically, we will review the literature dealing with the prediction of participation levels and will use the variables isolated for participation here. In this light, White's (1975) recent analysis showed that persons in higher level occupations tended to participate in outdoor recreation more frequently when compared with those in lower occupational levels (Cf. Burdge, 1969). When multiple regression techniques were applied to this data, however, occupation was found to be relatively unimportant as a predictor of participation. Rather, age, education, and income were the variables found to be most valuable in predicting outdoor activity levels.

The findings reported by White (1975:197) are in keeping with those reported by the U.S. Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission in its report, Outdoor Recreation in America. Regarding age, the following is stated:

> Of all the factors, age has the sharpest influence. As might be expected, the older people get, the less they engage in outdoor activity. This decline is especially noticeable in the more active pursuits--cycling, biking, horseback riding, water skiing, camping... and there are types of recreation--walking or driving for pleasure, sightseeing, fishing--where participation rates are impressive even for the oldest category of citizens. But the general picture is one of declining activity with advancing years (ORRRC,1962).

As White (1975:196) points out, his findings are in keeping with those of Wippler (1968), in that education proved to be a major prediction of outdoor recreation participation in his study. Also, Burch and Wengen (1967) found that 31 percent of the male campers interviewed for a study of camping styles in Oregon had completed 13 to 16 years of schooling, whereas only 16 percent of Oregon's general population had attained this level of education. Thus, there is ample support for the hypothesis that educational attainment levels sharply influence participation in outdoor recreation (Cf. ORRRC, 1962).

Income proved to be another valuable predictor variable in White's (1975) study and his findings coincide with those reported in Outdoor Recreation in America (1962), where it is reported that income has a discernible effect upon the rate of participation, being especially noted in instances that demand a substantial outlay of time or money--boating, water skiing, horseback riding, and the like.

Still, others have noted the relationship between these variables (age, education, and income) and participation rates. Jensen (1973:45) notes, for example, that as income increases, a greater proportion of it is spent on nonessentials (Cf. Grimes and Pinhey, 1976), and it is from this "disposable" income that most recreational expenditures are derived. Greenwood and Edwards (1973:290) point out that the overall age structure of the United States population has an immediate effect upon outdoor recreation, as over 17 percent of all Americans are aged from fifteen to twenty four. According to the above cited authors, these individuals have become eager participants in outdoor activities. And again, Jensen (1973:50) notes education's effect on recreation, and points to the positive relationship between level of education and diversification of interests. Specifically, this author claims that as an individual furthers his education "he tends to broaden his horizon of interests, appreciations, and skills in recreational pursuits."

Although generally employed as a dependent variable, Dunlap and Heffernan (1975) used outdoor recreation participation as a predictor variable in a study designed to explain environmental concern. Pinhey and Grimes (1976) also employed participation in recreational activities as a predictor variable in a model designed to explain a concern with a quality environment. For this study, outdoor recreational participation will also be treated as a predictor variable (See Figure 1).

As presented in Figure 1, a temporal sequence is assumed relative to the variables discussed above and willingness-to-pay. Briefly, this model assumes that age and certain socioeconomic variables preceed recreational participation, which in turn, preceeds a willingness to pay for such activities. It is suggested, following Jensen (1973), that education is the key to higher personal income (derived from higher status occupations), and higher income rates are assumed to influence an individual's attitudes relative to his concern with various price structures. Simply put, if one has become accustomed to frequent participation, he is more likely to be willing to pay for further activities rather than abandon his recreational interests.

Methods

The data for this paper were derived from a 1974 statewide survey conducted in Louisiana. Since details of our sampling techniques have been reported elsewhere, however (Lindsey, et al.,1976), it will simply be noted that, for the purposes of this investigation, the sample drawn was considered sufficiently representative of the adult population of the state.[3]

The variables utilized in our model are characterized as follows:

Education - Educational attainment levels were segregated into eight groups and were scored as follows: 1, under 3 years of school; 2, 4-6 years of school; 3, 7-9 years of school; 4,10-11 years of school; 5, high school graduate; 6, 1-3 years of college; 7, four-year college graduate; 8, professional (masters degree or beyond).

Occupation - Respondents were segregated into six distinct occupational groups which were scored as follows: 1, Unskilled workers (i.e., service and domestic workers, private household workers, farm laborers, unpaid family workers, and general laborers); 2,Operatives (i.e., operatives and kindred workers); 3, Craftsmen (i.e., craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers); 4, Clerical (i.e., clerical workers, sales workers and kindred workers); 5, Managers (i.e., business managers, officials, proprietors, and farm owners and managers); 6, Professionals (i.e., professional, technical, and kindred workers). The unemployed, retired,and students were eliminated from our sample.

Income - This variable was scored as follows: 1,0-3,999; 2,4,000-7,999; 3, 8,000-11,999; 4, 12,000-15,999; 5, 16,000 and above.

Age - The following categories were provided for age: 1,0-24 years; 2, 25-34 years; 3, 35-44 years; 4, 45-54 years; 5, 55-64 years; and 6, 65 and above.

Participation - Following White (1975:195), the outdoor recreation activities each respondent reported participating in were summed to yield a single measure of variety of participation. Scores for this variable ranged from zero to eight.

Willingness-to-pay - This measure was derived from a question which asked respondents the amount of money they were willing to pay for one day's use of a specific type of recreational site (i.e., fishing, hunting, boating, or camping sites, etc.). Responses were scored as follows: 1, $1.00; 2, $2.00; 3, $5.00; 4, $10,00; and 5, $25.00.

Again following White's example, analyses were made only in the white-male segment of the sample. Again, respondents that either did not offer opinions in response to various questions, or whose responses could not be utilized, were eliminated from the total sample. Thus, our total N was reduced to 157 subjects.

Findings

Presentation of the findings will be organized according to the model presented above into two sections--the prediction of level of outdoor recreational activity and willingness-to-pay for selected types of activity.

Level of outdoor recreational activity: As noted in the methods section above, our participation variable should perhaps be called a measure of "diversity of participation" since it is simply the number of different activities in which the respondent was engaged during the previous year. The model composed of educational level, occupation, income and age "explained" about eight percent of the variation in these participation rates. Income level proved to be the most important predictor with occupation, education and age of respondent following in importance in that order.

Willingness-to-pay: The second task combined the recreational activity variable with the others in an attempt to predict or explain differences in willingness-to-pay for four outdoor recreational activities--fishing, hunting, camping, and hiking. For fishing, the model explained only about six percent of the variations in fees. Age was the most important of the group of predictors, followed by income, occupation and education. The recreational activity variable had no unique contribution to the explained variance in fees for fishing.[4] Turning now to hunting, the model explained about seven percent of the variation among fees-for-hunting in our sample of respondents. For this variable as in fishing, age of respondent made the strongest independent contribution to the explained variance, with occupation, education, recreational activity level and income level following in importance in that order. The model explained only about four percent of the variation in fees-for-hiking among our respondents. Age again was the strongest predictor with level of recreational activity making the smallest independent contribution. About six percent of the fee-for-use scores for camping were explained by the model. Income level was the strongest predictor, while level of recreational activity was the weakest.

Summing across different activities provides an assessment of the relative importance of the predictors in the model. As may be seen in Table 3, age is far and away the best single predictor of willingness-to-pay with younger respondents opting for higher fees than older respondents. Occupational and income levels seem about equally important, with educational level somewhat less important. Interestingly, level of recreational activity is the least important of the predictors employed in influencing fees-for-use in the activities chosen for this analysis.

Summary and Conclusions

A four-variable model consisting of measures of respondents' educational attainment, occupational status, income level and age explained only about eight percent of the variation in levels of recreational activity among a sample of Louisiana residents. Combining the recreational activity measure with the other four variables produced explained variances in fees-for-use of from four to eight percent on four popular outdoor recreational activities. Despite suggestions made by others that participation in outdoor recreational activities would influence responses to fee-for-use issues, this variable proved to be the least important predictor in this study. If any of these predictors could, in the light of the poor performance of the overall model, be said to be an important influence on fees-for-use, it would be the age variable. This fact, of course, agrees with the findings of White (1975) and the ORRRC (1962) study cited earlier.

Suggestions for future research: In light of both the relatively undeveloped state of research on willingness-to-pay and the disappointing results of our model's tests, future work in this area should concentrate on some of the following issues:

1. A major need is for both the inclusion of other variables and for operationalizing commonly-used predictors in other, perhaps more valid ways.

2. A related need is for further thought on the position of the willingness-to-pay and the recreational activity measures. For example, it may well be that fees-for-use do influence levels of use despiste contrary evidence.

3. Certainly the use of a sample from a rather atypical state, Louisiana, may have confounded the model testing. Thus, application of the model to a wide variety of other states seems imperative before definitive statements concerning the nature of the relationships among our variables can be made.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Clawson and Knetsch (1969) also suggest as one fact, that the price or admission charge to a public recreation facility could be set at nearly any level, and that people would use the area at this entry price until the value of the "recreation experience" equalled its costs to them. Differences in entrance fees, according to these authors, might make little difference in the total use of an area. The question remains, at what point will participants consider costs equal to the recreation experience?

[2] We might even argue that price of facilities will affect level of use as hinted by Clawson and Knetsch (1969) in their discussion. However, our data here do not enable a test of such an hypothesis.

[3] Technically, the design used for selecting respondents is called a "disproportunal six stage stratified, cluster, random, quota sample." See Lindsey et al (1976) for details.

[4] Since the total explained variances are so small on all of the fees-for-use measures, the stability of the beta weights are certainly suspect. Thus, we will only discuss direct effects and even these will be treated rather summarily in the discussion.

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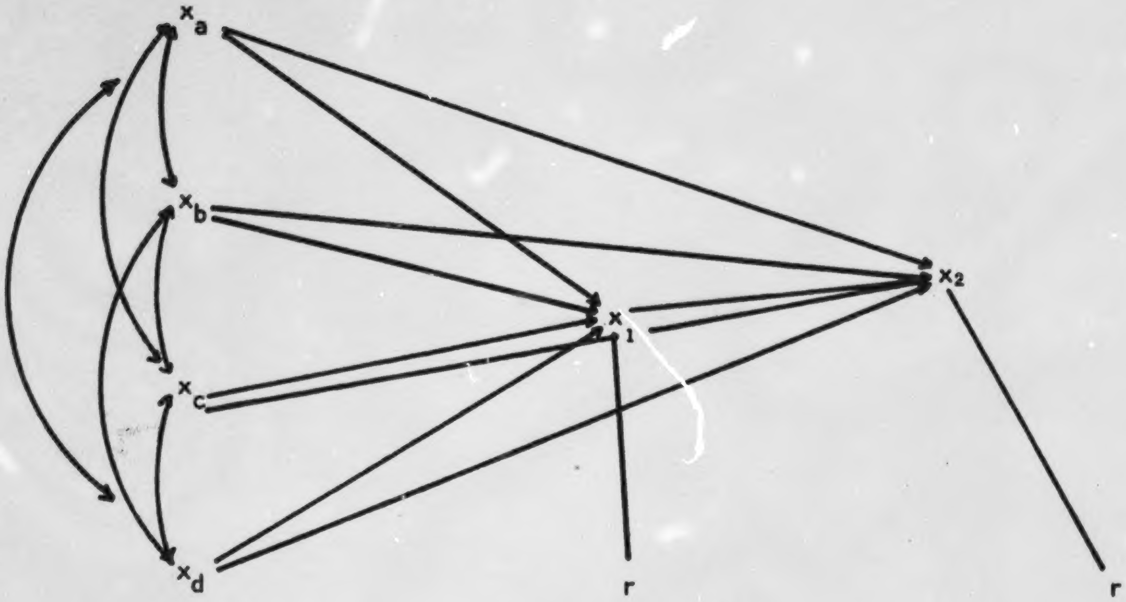

[a]Variables are: X_a=respondents educational attainment level, X_b= occupational status, X_c= income level, X_d= age, X_1= outdoor recreation participation, and X_2= a willingness to pay for recreational opportunities.

FIGURE 1

Causal Diagram of A Recursive Model Estimating the Effects of Socioeconomic Status, Age, and Recreational Participation on Willingness to Pay[a].

TABLE I

Zero-order associations among variables

	Education	Occupation	Income	Age	Level of Recreational Activity	Fishing	Hunting	Hiking	Camping
Education	–	.512	.557	-.398	.118	.136	.092	.087	.099
Occupation		–	.421	-.412	.163	.175	.189	.151	.185
Income			–	-.204	-.083	.144	.044	.095	.213
Age				–	-.171	-.202	-.245	-.166	-.079
Level of Recreational activity						.031	.091	.041	-.018
Fishing						–	.671	.584	.623
Hunting							–	.528	.536
Hiking								–	.627
Camping									–

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TABLE II

Effects of Predictor Variables on Recreational Activity and Willingness to Pay

Predictor	Level of Recreational Activity	Fishing	Hunting	Hiking	Camping
Education	.133	.017	-.051	-.046	-.089
Occupation	.155	.082	.132	.096	.142
Income	-.244	.087	-.022	.054	.198
Age	-.104	-.157	-.209	-.131	-.019
Level of Recreational Activity	-	.000	.038	.013	-.018
R^2=	.079	.056	.074	.038	.061

TABLE III

Rank-Order of Betas for Predictor Variables on all Fee-for-Use Activities

Predictor	Fishing	Hunting	Hiking	Camping	Mean Rank
Education	4	3	4	3	3.5
Occupation	3	2	2	2	2.3
Income	2	5	3	1	2.8
Age	1	1	1	4	1.8
Level of Recreational Activity	5	4	5	5	4.8

A SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION FOR LEISURE SERVICES

D. L. Groves[1], S. L. Groves[2], and S. S. Light[3]

NEED

With industrial development has come automation and specialization in work tasks. As a result, work has become more monotonous and the worker has not been able to see the product of his labor. This has resulted in the worker becoming bored and losing pride in his work. He has sought new outlets to add meaning to his life. (Brown, 1971; Matejko, 1971)

Most industrial societies are in the process of evolving from a work toward a leisure ethic. As a result, leisure activities are assuming a more important role in industrial societies. These activities only previously served an entertainment function with individuals deriving most of their satisfaction and meaning from life through work, social, and family activities. As these industrial societies have evolved, technology and innovation have increased the amount of leisure time as well as developing new and different ways to spend it. (Dahl, 1972; Dumazedier, 1967; Lanfant, 1970)

The increase in leisure time has resulted in increased pressure upon recreation areas and programs. The demand for leisure products and services has increased at a much faster rate than other goods and services. The demand has not only been for quantity but also for quality. This problem has become even more acute because of the current energy crisis and limitations on the resources available for leisure programs and facilities.

Many social problems have been directly related to the individual not knowing how to utilize his time to add meaning to his life, especially through leisure activities (Hutchins, 1971; Martin, 1959; Thornton, 1973). There is now a need for formal and informal educational programs to teach individuals how to more effectively and efficiently utilize their time to add meaning to their lives. Leisure in this context is a therapeutic element that can help an individual better adjust and learn how to utilize resources in his changing environment (Dracoulides, 1972; Giddens, 1964). The importance of leisure and the type of educational program needed is illustrated in the following quote (Leisure Information Service (LIS) -- Vol. 3(22): 3, 1975):

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[1] Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and Virginia State Collete, Petersburg, Virginia 23803

[2] Appalachian Associates, 4 Cherry Dirve, Brockport, New York 14420.

[3] State University of New York, State University College at Brockport, Brockport, New York 14420

"The National Recreation and Park Association (NRPA) has received a grant..., to develop a model to assist public schools in integrating a leisure education component into the existing curriculum in grades kindergarten through 12.

The major purpose of the two-year project, to be known as LEAP (Leisure Education Advancement Project), is to develop a model which will instill in students:

- The use of leisure time (discretionary time) as an avenue for personal satisfaction and enrichment;
- An understanding of the array of valuable opportunities available in leisure time;
- An understanding of the significant impact that leisure time has had and will have on society;
- An appreciation of the natural resources and their relationships to discretionary time and the quality of life."

SITUATION

The development of a leisure education program is in its embryological stage of development. There have been few societies that have had the opportunity for mass leisure. Therefore, there are not any historical threads or guidelines to help establish current educational programs. Leisure activities in the formal curricula have usually been limited to sports and physical education activities. Leisure activities in the informal setting have usually been much broader because the organization involved has had to develop programs based upon interest. These programs have had to be competitive because their support both financially and participation wise depends upon voluntary action. Therefore, their program has primarily been activities centered. These types of curricula have tended to isolate recreation and leisure activities into a small portion of the program that serves an entertainment function. Few informal curricula have made an effort to use recreation to stimulate interest in other content areas. There is a need to build upon current formal and informal programs and expand the content to include more recreation and leisure activities. (Corbin and Tait, 1973; Cranford, 1975; Langenbach and Hinkemeyer, 1969; Mand, 1974)

PROBLEM

Recreation and leisure activities should not be an isolated entity in the curricula. They are a motivation builder that can be weaved throughout the curricula to establish a foundation of interest (Clegg, 1967; Freeberg and Rock, 1973). Curricula should be designed to let the individual pursue a number of potential interests and when he has found two or three he should be allowed to develop and refine his cognitive, affective, and psychomotor abilities through a desired method of instruction (Blaschke, 1971; Light and Smith, 1970). A critical overtone should be to help the individual develop life skills to be able to effectively and efficiently manage his time to achieve a desired goal (Atkin, 1968). The initial phases of such a program must be to help the individual clarify his values and goals (Raths et al., 1966).

Current trends among both the formal and informal education processes have tried to adapt the activity centered curricula of the informal organizations to their setting. A result in many instances has been isolated activities that have little bearing or relationship on each other which has, in turn, caused fragmentation of educational experiences (Corbin and Tait, 1973; Evan, 1966; Ohme, 1970; Terreberry, 1968). Another element that has percipitated fragmentation in the activity centered curricula is that most instructors have not been trained in the proper use of teaching methods for recreation and leisure activities (Corbin and Tait, 1973; Evan, 1966; Ohme, 1970; Terreberry, 1968). As a result of these factors, there has been a lack of continuity in the activity centered curricula. Questions are being raised about the nature and value of recreation and leisure activities because of this ineffectiveness to achieve a desired outcome (Banach and Escott, 1973). A primary problem is that goals and objectives have not been established and educational experiences designed to achieve them (Atkin, 1968; Blake et al., 1964). Another problem has been that proper teaching techniques have not been utilized to obtain maximum educational value from experiences. Both of these problems relate to program standardization and are a function of proper training and communication (Jacks, 1960; Longstreet, 1972; Petrie, 1971). Communication is the first step toward coordination of activities and program ideas, therefore, it is the first step toward program continuity.

Most curricula at the present time do not have a leisure studies program. If they do, it only occupies a small proportion of the curricula. Most curricula are already overburdened with content areas. One way of developing a recreation and leisure studies program is to incorporate it into an ongoing part of the curricula. Goals and objectives must be established and materials developed to help instructors achieve them. For such a program to be successful, the materials should be (1) supplemental and should reinforce present concepts being taught; (2) simple to use and easily accessible; and (3) prepared in alternate forms so that they can be adapted to most any situation (UIAES, 1969; Longstreet, 1972; Terreberry, 1968). Materials should only survive if they have a utility to the instructor. A key element to program management and utilization of materials is the interest and involvement of instructors (Ashdown, 1974; Evan, 1966). Instructors must have the opportunity to develop content or at least an opportunity to have an input in what types of materials are needed and in what form. An important part of the involvement process is the opportunity to exchange ideas with coworkers (Fedderson, 1972; Howard, 1972; Pietri et al., 1974). Many organizational problems in instructional situations can be improved through some type of information exchange process. It also offers an opportunity for group identity and solidarity. What is being suggested is that new and different ideas can be tried and because of group dynamic processes, these ideas will spread throughout an organization (FCV, 1973; Pareck and Chattopahay, 1966; Prentice, 1970). Communication is the key to determining interest and building program involvement.

POTENTIAL SOLUTION

Most individuals with administrative responsibility for formal and informal education programs want a recreation and educational program and are looking for a vehicle to operationalize such a curricula, especially on a supplemental basis at first. Communication is the key to operationalizing an interdisciplinary recreation and leisure education program with other content areas. Recreation and leisure in this context are a foundation that may stimulate and develop interest in other content areas. A communication network such as a newsletter published on a regular basis may be the best vehicle for implementing a supplemental recreation and leisure educational program (Prentice, 1970). A newsletter is a communication network that can serve a program management and coordination function (Blaschke, 1971, Pietri et al., 1974; UIAES, 1969). The purpose of such a newsletter should be to provide instructors with a supplemental resource on a regular basis to integrate recreation and leisure activities into their program. With such a form, it would be possible to share successful ideas and introduce new program ideas (Deutsch et al., 1967). Effective communication is the first step to program continuity because it permits organizational units to exchange ideas to reduce duplication of efforts (Deutsch, 1967; Fedderson, 1972; Hatch and Lynch, 1973; Longstreet, 1972; Pareek and Chattopadhay, 1966). Through such a coordination device, as a newsletter, a program with objectives can be implemented with minimal disturbance to the existing educational program (Fedderson, 1972; Hatch and Lynch, 1973; Longstreet, 1972; Pareek and Chattopadhay, 1966). A communication network such as the newsletter is only as effective as the quality of the publication.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this discussion is to explore the feasibility of a communication device such as the newsletter as the program management tool for the development of an interdisciplinary recreation and leisure education program. The development of such a communication network is usually a trial and error process to isolate a workable system (Howard, 1972; Moore, 1973; Von Schulz and Kepple, 1971). Each organization is different in its structure and personnel. Therefore, it may take a number of efforts to identify critical program elements that will make the difference between a successul newsletter that serves a program management function and a mediocre newsletter that serves only as a communications device.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

Two important elements in a newsletter are information development as it relates to a target audience and organizational structure. The information needs of the target audience must be assessed (UIAES, 1969). Congruence between recreation and leisure content and subject being taught is important in the selection of a topic that has a high degree of usability to the instructor. Information about a selected topic must be collected and put in a usable form for the audience. The information needed should not only relate to job task but also provide perspective for the overall development of the information product. There are four basic types of information: (1) sources of funds -- potential sources of monies for student, instructor, and curricula development, (2) current information -- factors that may have a potential influence upon program development, (3) idea builders -- ideas and sources of ideas that may have not been widely tried but hold a potential for possible program development, and (4) mini-projects -- ideas that have already been tried and tested in some organizations. Once this type of information has been isolated it must be refined. Refinement of the information into a usable form is a result of using good communication skills in an interesting way. Brevity and practical information about utilization of the information product are two of the overriding communication elements, in addition to style, that influences the quality of a publication. (Banathy, 1970; Blaschke, 1971; FCA, 1973; Fedderson, 1972; UIAES, 1969)

Once the information has been collected and refined, it must be disseminated and utilized. The primary factor influencing these two processes is the organization. Each organization has an identity. An organization must be responsive to needs and institute change. A newsletter is not a device for manipulation for people by an organization. It is a line of communication among organizational components for the coordination of activities and the development of a program. If the attitude of an organization is one of manipulation, a newsletter will not be a successful device. An organization must open up its information channels to the newsletter so that each point of contact has accessibility in schedule, in terms of time and materials, to let the instructor try new ideas. The organization must also provide enough support in terms of time and materials to develop a quality newsletter. Another important element that influences the use of the information is feedback that allows for a refinement of ideas presented (Bennis, 1969; Eddy, 1971; Greiner, 1967

EXAMPLE NEWSLETTER

The following is an example of newsletter items with comments that may serve as a guide for others in the development of a newsletter for their organization. Many of the items have been adopted from other newsletters to illustrate many different styles and formats. This is only an example and has been developed for the general situation. Therfore, much of the polish necessary for a quality newsletter has been lost because of trying to illustrate a general format.

LOGO RECREATIONAL ACTIVITY CORNER LOGO

STATUS OF 4-H RECREATION PROGRAM IN VIRGINIA

The recreation program is fragmented. There is little continuity from one unit program to another. Basic questions are being raised about the nature and value of a recreational experience because of this lack of continuity. These questions center on how and where recreation experience fits into the 4-H program. Recreational activities have been used in most programs to stimulate interest in 4-H or project areas. Recreation used in this context is a motivation builder. Recreation can be the common thread that bonds all 4-H activities together because 4-H's philosophy is based upon the spiritual, physical, and mental development of youth while having a good time. Four-H is an organization that helps youth to learn how to use his leisure time more effectively.

Comment: Example title and introduction (situation statement)

PUBLICATION OUTLINE

The purpose of this publication, "Recreation Activity Corner", is to provide extension agents with an additional resource on a monthly basis to supplement their program. Through such a formum, it will be possible to share successful and introduce new program ideas. Effective communication is the first step to program continuity because it permits the organizational units to exchange information to reduce the duplication of effort. The format for the publication will be presented in four sections: (1) sources of funds-potential sources of monies for student, instructor, and curricula development; (2) current information-factors that may have a potential influence upon program development; (3) idea builders-ideas and sources of ideas that have not been widely tried but hold potential for possible program development; and (4) mini-project-ideas that have already been tried and tested in some youth program.

Comment: Justification and procedures (It may be good to restate the purpose in each newsletter or at least until readers have an understanding of the meaning of the newsletter.)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

Item 1

Student Research Eligible for Foundation Grants

The Sophia and William Casey Foundation of New York has announced a "Students Self-Starter Challenge" program to encourage students in the 12 to 21 age bracket to do research on the origins of American independence. Eligible projects will qualify for grants up to $250.

The Foundation says there are no set rules on what constitutes an eligible project but emphasizes it is particularly interested in projects wherein the applicant undertakes to investigate, research and write on some phase of the American Revolution. The Foundation adds, however, that any project which a student is prepared to carry out on his own and which is sensibly related to the Bicentennial celebration will be considered.

Applicants may write to the Sophia and William Casey Foundation Box 73, Glen Head, New York 11545.

Source: LIS - Vol. 3(19): 6, 1975

Comment: Monies for student programs - two types:
(1) research or (2) educational programs -
growth, development, and leadership opportunities;
example item is research.

CURRENT INFORMATION

Item 2

Teaching Potential

M. L. Cranford, "Recreation's Teaching Potential", Journal of Extension, Vol. 13, No. 1, Spring 1975, pp. 3-10. The major thrust of this article was how and where recreation and leisure fit into 4-H programs. This article emphasizes that recreation underlies all 4-H activities. Ms. Cranford suggests that there is a need within our society to educate youth to the proper use of leisure time. She sees 4-H's role as that of fulfilling this function because it teaches people how to utilize their leisure time based upon pursuing interests that have personal meaning and satisfaction to them. 4-H and similar types of activities contribute to the growth and adjustment of the adolescent into responsible adults that recognize the importance of putting quality into their lives.

Comment: Potential information sources that influence program development - two types: (1) publication - theoretical and practical or (2) conference - theoretical and practical; example item is publication - theoretical.

IDEA BUILDERS

Item 3

Amateur Radio

Amateur radio is both fun and educational and, according to the American Radio Relay League (ARRL), there are more than a half-million radio buffs around the world. Many amateurs received their start as teenagers, and high school and youth-group radio clubs around in the U.S. and abroad. A willing local amateur, in cooperation with the amateur's national group, the ARRL, can help recreation departments, day camps, and other youth serving agencies organize an amateur radio class for youngsters. And, almost no financing at all is required to get started. Contact a local amateur radio club, an individual amateur in your neighborhood, or write ARRL direct for assistance; the address is Deparrment LIS, 225 Main Street, Newington, Connecticut 06111.

Source: LIS Vol. 3(15): 9, 1975

Comment: Action idea - two types: (1) supplemental - materials and/or instructional assistance or packaged instructional program or (2) entire instructional program; example item is supplemental - instructional assistance.

Note :

If any readers have used any of these ideas in their program, please share your experiences.

MINI-PROJECTS

Item 4

Bowling

This project originated in Chesterfield County and is the product of Mrs. Sandra Henderson, Mr. Michael Henry, and Mrs. Yinestra Robinson. Since it will be costly to print this because of the number of pages involved, only a brief description of the project will be given. A copy of the project can be obtained by writing to David Groves.

purpose:

1. To introduce youth to 4-H.
2. To provide youth with an opportunity to (1) learn how to utilize their leisure time more effectively through bowling and (2) improve their health.

leader's guide:

1. Make administrative and procedural arrangements with a bowling alley for use of their facilities and obtain their help in obtaining and identifying an instructor. It has been found that a $2.00 fee for the instruction is better than if the program is free.
2. Make administrative and procedural arrangements with the school if the proposed activity is part of a club being held in the school.
3. Distribution of advertisement and registration slips.
4. Classroom orientation to bowling history, rules and courtesy of the game, equipment, structure of the alley, and methods of scoring.
5. Instruction at the bowling alley involving grip, stances, and delivery methods.
6. Follow-up activity - evaluation of progress: record books and awarding of appropriate ribbons based upon progress.

   Comment: tested ideas - two types: (1) informal program setting or (2) formal setting; example item is informal setting.

Note:

We are interested in improving each mini-project so once you have tried one and see ways to improve it based upon different situations, please contact us. Improvement in these materials will be made continuously and you will be notified of improvements as they are made. Once a number of projects have been developed an index will be published so that you can select among the different ideas for your program. Once a project has become widely accepted it will be developed into a project and improved on the basis of its trial in the counties.

ALTERNATE ITEMS AND FORMATS

Brevity in many organizationsis a critical element to the utilization of information. In these instances the most successful means of distribution of detailed information is a statement of where information can be obtained and letting the readers respond based on interest. The following are items that have been developed based upon the need for brevity:

Alternate Item 3

Amateur Radio

Amateur radio is both fun and educational. A willing local amateur in cooperation with the amateurs' national group, the ARRL (American Radio Relay League) can help you organize an amateur radio class for youngsters. And, almost no financing is required to get started. For information, write ARRL, Department LIS, 225 Main Street, Newington, Connecticut 06111.

Another important element that influences the use of information is involvement of instructors in the development of content. Again the basic element is interest. Instructors must be able to select the content in which they are interested and be able to help in the development of content. Their help can be a passive input in terms of only adding guidance to an active input in terms of writing the material. These individuals are in the best position to know the important elements needed to develop and execute a successful program. The following are example items designed to stimulate instructor involvement (several new format elements are also illustrated):

Day Camping	If you have a Day Camping Program, could you please send me a copy of your agenda? A Day Camping Guide may be put together in the near future, and any information or help you can provide will be useful. Please send any information you have to me at the following address: Box I, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia 23803
Recreation Mini-Project	Mrs. Sandra Henderson, Michael Henry, and Mrs. Yinestra Robinson of Chesterfield County have developed a recreation project on bowling. This is a project that was designed to introduce youth to 4-H: and to provide youth with an opportunity to (1) learn how to

utilize their leisure time more effectively through bowling, and (2) imrpove their health. A copy of the project can be obtained by writing to me at the following address:

Box I, Virginia State College,
Petersburg, Virginia 23803

Format

Development of format is a trial and error process to determine an appropriate physical design to deliver content. Proper format is an element that can add to the effectiveness of a newsletter. Physical design includes decisions about such factors as: title, illustrations, layout, size and color of paper, spacing, type style, upper-lower case type, type and color of ink, type of duplication process, and development of a mailing list and distribution procedures. The criteria for decisions is making the content more understandable and simpler to use. Physical design must be personalized, for example, more important information can be underlined, blacked, or put on different color paper.

CONCLUSION

This discussion has suggested that a newsletter may be a tool to help some organizations implement a supplemental recreation and leisure educational program in which it is woven into other content areas. It should be remembered that a newsletter is only one device and its primary function is coordination for continuity. Other content support aids such as in-service training, textbooks, etc. are also needed to be provided for a program to be successful. A newsletter is being suggested here as a preliminary device to start and coordinate a recreation and leisure education program. It is a device that is simple, accessible, easy to use, cheap in cost, and represents a minimal disturbance to the present organizational structure.

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ABSTRACT

The Rural Health Movement In The South

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The basic structure of the rural health movement is similar to that of other movements: polycephalus, segmented and reticulate. The network of interaction (the reticulation) is however compromised by expanded space and time dimensions that prevent effective communication between leaders and groups responding to the demand for improved health services. The movement is further hindered by the "dependency basic assumption" that emerges to engulf the work task through a collusion between provider and consumer and between institutions and communities to deny the individuals capacity to contribute to improving health. The movement to improve health necessitates improving interdisciplinary communication between institutions, agencies, and communities. To this end, The Clearinghouse for Rural Health Services Research has defined its primary task: "To foster the creation, coordination, and communication of rural health services research nationally and internationally; to utilize an interdisciplinary, interagency, interinstitutional approach to the solution of rural health problems and through the interaction of rural communities, scholars, governmental officials, and business leaders, both urban and rural, to improve the health of the people."

RURAL HEALTH CARE: THE ECONOMIST'S PERSPECTIVE*

by

Irving Dubov and Brady J. Deaton**

I. INTRODUCTION

The disparities between needs for health services in rural areas and the actual delivery of these services are amply documented elsehwere.[1] The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine approaches to kinds of health care planning research that can help close this gap. The specific purposes are:

(1) To present a typical health care problem situation in a sparsely populated area.

(2) To suggest approaches for research to solve health care planning problems at both regional and local clinic levels.

(3) To offer some reflections on associated issues of public policies for health care distribution.

II. A PROBLEM SITUATION

Background

The economy of many rural areas in the Appalachian Region is tied to the economic booms and busts experienced by the coal industry. In terms of per capita real incomes, then, these areas at different times can be either among the most prosperous of among the most economically depressed in the United States. Also, these areas provide historical examples of what happens when public responsibility for insuring the availability of basic services is abdicated. Of particular concern here is the responsibility for establishing and maintaining adequate health care delivery systems.

When the region's coal industry prospered--during 1910-1940--each coal camp had its own physician. Workers in the coal fields had to be kept physically fit to extract underground coal. At that time, rural Appalachia probably had the best health services of any rural area of the country.[2] The quality and availability of health services declined rapidly as mining became more mechanized, as industry turned to cheaper sources of energy, such as gas and oil, and as strip mining techniques displaced deep mining operations. A large pool of physically fit labor was no longer as critical to an industry that now faced surpluses of available labor. One of the greatest out-migrations in the nation's history occurred from Appalachia between 1940 and 1960. Most communities lost their productive manpower, their vitality, and their fiscal ability to provide public services such as health care to the inhabitants who stayed behind.

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[1] See, for example, Health Services in Rural America, Rural Development Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Information Bulletin No. 362, July 1973.

Health Care Services Revitalized

In recent years, however, there have been many efforts to upgrade health services in the region. The most important single element has been the joint effort by community organizers and local residents who were determined to reverse the spiral of deterioration in their communities. In the process, eight communities near the juncture of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia have established small, community-owned, rural health clinics. Each one is staffed by a nurse practitioner or physician's assistant, and is supervised by physicians' visits once or twice a week. These clinics are operated by community based "health councils" which provide leadership in organizing and raising money to finance the clinics. The councils meet regularly to decide such matters as what services to offer, whom to hire and at what salaries, and clinic hours. Citizen input is encouraged and maintained with high levels of involvement. The clinics, therefore, are direct results of community goals and actions.

The nurse practitioner and aides at each clinic are given direction and assistance by a physician who visits on a regular schedule once or twice a week, and who is frequently consulted by phone in between visits. Basic laboratory tests and patient workups are carried out by nurse's aides. Home health aides take clinic services into homes throughout the communities by teaching health education, following up prescribed treatments, and identifying possible causes of family and community health problems.

Of the eight clinics organized in this manner, only the one at Briceville, Tennessee, has chosen to remain independent. The clinics at Frakes, Kentucky, and Clairfield, White Oak, and Sinking Creek, Tennessee, have joined into a cooperative federation known as United Health Services of Kentucky and Tennessee. Similarly, the clinics at Norma, Petros, and Stoney Fork, Tennessee, have formed the Mountain People's Health Councils. All the clinics closely coordinate their activities, even across the federations. These cooperative ventures enable the clinics to share an administrative staff, purchase drugs and supplies in bulk, and make joint grant applications. The latter is a particularly time-consuming task for organizations that depend on grants and government financing for survival.

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[2] Bill Corr, Community Health Services in East Tennessee, East Kentucky and Southwest Virginia, unpublished paper, East Tennessee Research Corporation, Jacksboro, Tennessee.

The clinic buildings were constructed primarily with volunteer labor from the community. Continued financial support has been obtained from community fund raising projects such as bake sales, quilt auctions, stage productions, and sports events. Several of the clinics have been able to receive county revenue-sharing funds by demonstrating their broad appeal.

Future Problems: Financial Feasibility

The clinics described above were successfully launched in an impoverished area of Central Appalachia where per capita income in 1971 was only 59.7 percent of the national average.[3] They still depend on foundations, churches, and government funds for most of their operating expenses. Each patient is charged a small fee according to a sliding scale that depends on income level. The clinics have collected over 80 percent of the fees assessed, but are still covering only about 50 percent of their costs.

The clinics operated successfully in their early stages, albeit with limited funding. The Appalachian Regional Commission was impressed with the success of these "grass-roots" endeavors and provided substantial funds to upgrade their services. These funds, however, were designed to be phased out over a five-year period. Ideally, the clinics would find alternative sources of revenue to phase in over the same five years. But, CBS News reported on Sunday, January 23, 1977 that two of the four clinics of the United Health Services have been closed because of reduced funding. The local health councils, however, decided to keep the Clairfield, Tennessee, and Frakes, Kentucky, clinics going as long as possible.

The Appalachian Regional Commission has assisted more than 150 communities in operating primary clinics. However, a total of 700 to 800 clinics are needed in the Region.[4] The operation of these clinics has been made difficult by Medicare regulations that prevent clinics from being reimbursed for services rendered when a physician is not present. The ARC reports that 70 to 80 percent of rural medical problems can be handled satisfactorily by nurse practitioners and other physician extenders. Yet, the clinics cannot be directly reimbursed for services rendered by these health professionals under current guidelines.

Recent estimates from an East Tennessee clinic show that 55 percent of the patient load have incomes below the poverty line. Twenty-one of the 55 percent are eligible for Medicaid, but the other 34 percent are not eligible for Medicaid.[5] These clinics generally serve the very poorest population with the most severe health care needs. Consequently, sustaining a clinic with these patients loads becomes very difficult.

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[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census.

[4] Washington Post, "Rural Health Care in Appalachia," Saturday, April 24, 1976.

[5] Dick Couto, Director, Vanderbilt Student Health Coalition, personal conversations.

APPLIED HEALTH PLANNING RESEARCH

Two levels of applied research are needed to assist health care planning for rural areas. The first is concerned with area level planning of comprehensive health care delivery systems. Local clinics of the kind just described must be integrated into such a system. This is necessary to give the patients that they serve access to all the general, specialized, and superspecialized health care services they may need. The second level of research deals with problems of design, financing, management, and operation of individual elements of the system. Such analyses are needed to assure the economic feasibility of these units, and their effectiveness in meeting health care needs.

Economic analysts can make substantial contributions to both levels of health care planning for rural areas. Operations research techniques applied successfully to the assembly, processing and distribution of food products are entirely applicable to both regional and local health care planning problems. Moreover, agricultural economists are familiar with the special economic and institutional characteristics of rural areas that must be considered in these problems.

Comprehensive System Planning

The first stage in comprehensive health planning involves specifying a model of the system desired. The initial specifications should deal with the performance objectives of the delivery system. In the present context, these objectives include the following.

(1) The system should be as economically efficient as possible, generating the largest volume of services possible from a given resource base. As a corollary, the total medical needs of the planning area should be satisfied at minimum total access cost.

(2) The system should include a telecommunications center and network to facilitate communication (information) and referral (patient flow) linkages among all health care agencies in the planning region, including clinics of the kind described above. The resulting linkages are needed to maximize the quantity and quality of services accessible to rural residents by making use of available facilities and services in urban medical centers.

(3) Total resources in the regions should be sufficient to meet total health care needs of the region.

The model should then specify the particular kinds of programs and the facilities by which these services will be generated. Figure 1 presents the general outline of such a model, emphasizing patient and referral flow paths. Figure 2 shows the structure of health care services that would be dispensed at a regional health care or medical center. A similar structure of services would be available at the community hospital level, albeit with less "superspecialization" of professional personnel and facilities.

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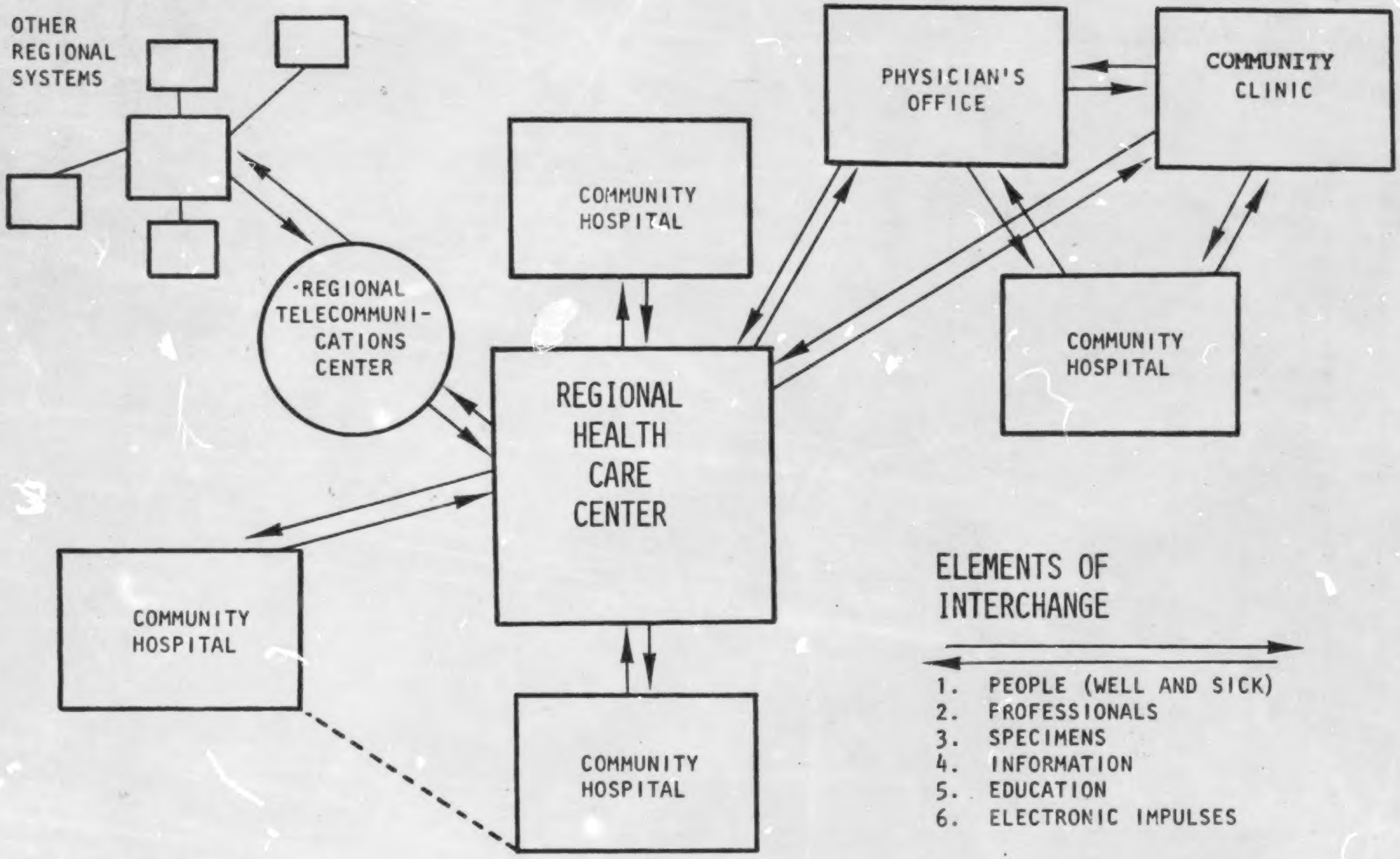

Figure 1. Regional Health Care System

Source: Adapted from David D. Rutstein, Blueprint for Medical Care, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1974, p. 16.

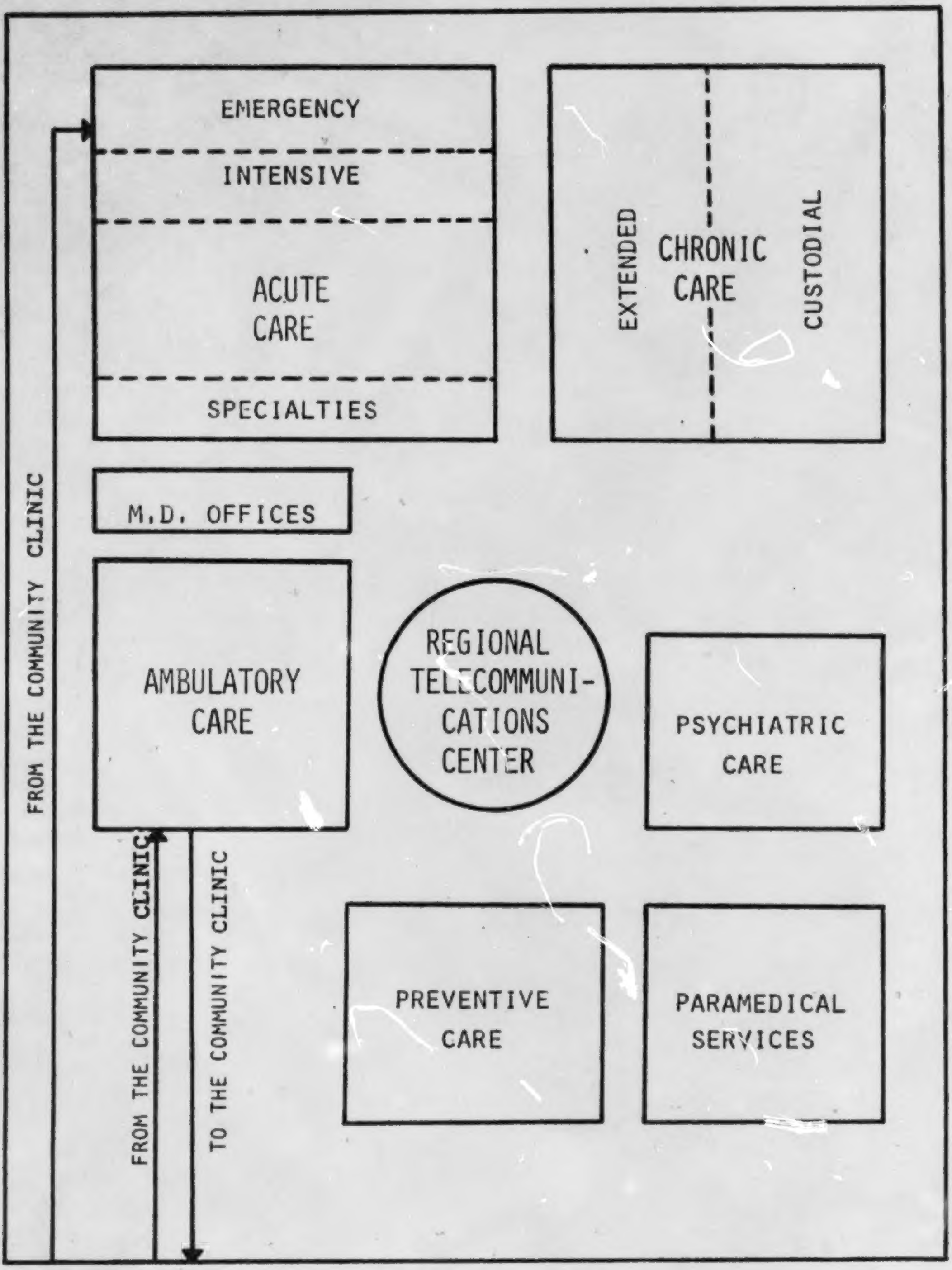

Figure 2. Regional Health Care Center

Source: Adapted from David D. Rutstein, Blueprint for Medical Care, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1974, p. 6.

The telecommunications center and network implies changes in the public and private institutional regulations affecting the health professions and industries in the region. The "rules of the game" would now encourage all licensed individuals and agencies to coordinate with the regional telecommunications center.

The next stage involves estimation of current and projected requirements--in terms of unmet needs--for each category of health service specified in the system model. The purpose is to develop a matrix of health service requirements in terms of standardized units, such as physician minutes, hospital patient days, and other units of treatment services.

Simultaneously, estimates must be made of the amounts of specific resources (personnel, facilities, and equipment) available to meet current needs, and the increments to these resources required for future needs. The inventories should be in terms of resource units and standardized units of patient services.

The third stage is involved with generating a bank of cost planning data. The data would be derived from engineering economic studies of model facilities and field surveys of existing health service agencies. Also included would be cost planning data for transportation systems to increase linkages and accessibilities of services. Specifications would be developed for facilities and for information and service flows required to meet projected needs. The specifications would be based on renovation of existing facilities, as well as on new construction. In all cases, the designs would incorporate latest available technologies of treatment and management.

The final stage of the planning research involves determination of optimal location patterns for health service facilities under projected conditions. The structural constraints of the model would include all requirements imposed by accreditation standards that affect costs of operation. The locations of some facilities, especially those requiring "superspecialist" expertise and expensive equipment, may already be given and fixed at the urban medical center. In any event, the solutions involve establishing the patient flow and information routings among agencies in the region that will provide necessary services at minimum total access costs.

Clinic Level Planning Research[6]

The most pressing research needs at this level are concerned with determining the relative feasibility and delivery effectiveness of alternative types of local clinics. This will probably require intensive case studies of internal operations of various clinics, as well as cross-sectional analysis of data sampled from clinics and the communities in which they are located. The research needs can be delineated in terms of the three following areas.

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[6] This section benefits from discussion with Dr. Sam Cordes, Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics, Pennsylvania State University.

(1) Internal management: - We need to examine the mix of personnel in each clinic and the manner in which they are used to serve the community. The use of management skills along with those of medical personnel in federated cooperatives to capture economies of scale should be studied. The accrual of significant size economies in these labor intensive enterprises has been questioned.[7]

The types of equipment used, fee structures, arrangements for ambulatory and emergency care are additional variables that must be examined both in terms of financial feasibility and delivery effectiveness.

(2) Demographic characteristics of community: - The demand for clinical care will vary with socioeconomic characteristics of the community. Therefore, the organization of the clinic will depend on the nature of the population served. A thriving, growing coal town requires a different bundle of health care services than does a declining community composed primarily of retired elderly. The financial base to support the clinic will vary in similar fashion.

The make-up of rural communities must be recognized in terms of work ethic, religion, history of labor activity, relative role of farming, previous community action, and the like.

(3) System linkages: - At the same time, the design and ultimate success of the clinic may depend on the broader system of health care available in nearby towns, i.e., facilities for ambulatory and emergency care hospitals, medical specialists, and so forth. These factors are directly related to the comprehensive health care system planning discussed above.

Other factors that affect the operation and ultimate effectiveness of local clinics are financial linkages with local governments and other institutions, relationships with OEO and welfare agencies, and laws affecting health care delivery at local, state, and federal levels.

Planning research to determine optimal health delivery systems should evaluate alternative institutional options for delivery systems. One option might be the present system, including current institutional arrangements regarding the autonomy of individual elements, and regulations that proscribe the tasks that can be performed by allied medical personnel who act as physician extenders. In this option, gaps in services would be filled by recruiting more physicians and supporting personnel to serve in rural areas.

Another option is one that would involve changes in these institutional arrangements. It would encourage the individual elements to function as cooperative members of a coherent system. It would redefine tasks that could be performed by allied medical personnel to enlarge their contributions as physician extenders.[8] It would include also changes in Medicare regulations to allow reimbursement for health services provided by physician extenders when a physician is not physically present.

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[7] Werner Z. Hirsch, "Output and Costs of Local Government Services," paper presented at National Conference on Nonmetropolitan Community Services Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, January 12, 1977.

Either option should include a regional telecommunications network for transmission of diagnostic, referral, and logistic information, and a regional transportation system that patients in outlying areas could use to gain access to medical services.

Finally, the research areas delineated can provide information to be utilized directly by local clinics, county government, and health planning agencies. The unmet needs for health care services in rural areas are obvious and the case need not be argued further. An opportunity exists for land-grant colleges to provide landmark assistance in an area of critical human need. Adequate health care is one of the most basic elements of the quality of life.

Whatever research approach is used, we need to spend more time finding out what the needs for local health facilities are from the people who operate them, and from the people they serve. We should ask the providers and their patients how we can help them satisfy currently unmet needs for health care services. We need to identify more carefully who the patients are, how they assess and publicly express their health needs, and to record the intensity of their concerns in getting access to adequate health care services.

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[8] Rutstein, op. cit., pp. 58-61 discusses this problem extremely well.

RURAL HEALTH CARE
THE EXTENSION PERSPECTIVE

In discussing the Cooperative Extension's Perspective on Rural Health, I will be doing so on the basis of two assumptions.

1. You are familiar with Cooperative Extension from an organizational and program perspective.
2. You realize that there is not a consensus of opinion in regards to either Extension's commitment or role in Health Care Education.

To stay on solid ground, a major portion of my remarks are taken from the 1976 National Survey entitled "Health Education in Extension."

Historical Background

If one should review the history of the Cooperative Extension Service since its creation in 1914, they would find that Extension has been involved in Rural Health Care all along. The extent, type and degree has varied by location, time and socio-economic conditions. By tradition, coupled with the belief that health belongs to health professionals, Extension's educational role in facilitating health service delivery has been in the periphery, in spite of the fact that "family health" is defined as an Extension focus. Consequentely, its capabilities for health education service delivery are both underdeveloped and underutilized. Extension health emphasis has been primarily on nutrition education, and secondarily, on health activities such as home safety, first aid, and immunization as related to family health. There has been little effort in the direction of family and community health planning. Public affairs education has rarely included citizen discussions on health issues such as partnership for health and the national health plan. Prior to 1960, Community Resource Development gave little emphasis to the development of health services and facilities and their incorporation into rural development.

During the 60's and early 70's the Cooperative Extension Service became somewhat more involved in Health Education. This increased emphasis was due in part to two factors (1) the so-called national crisis in health care and, (2) a rather prosperous economy and stable agricultural situation which allowed alternate uses of resources.

The emphasis was manifested in such things as creating a subcommittee on health education by the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy, renewed interest by the AMA Rural Health Section, Pilot Extension Program on Health Care funded by HEW, the employing of additional State Health Leaders, and new or expanded programs for rural clientele to name a few.

The energy crunch, world food situation, economic recession, etc., had and continues to have its influence on the development of an Extension Health Education program. Agencies, such as Extension, must allocate its resources on the basis of its primary mission. The primary mission of the Cooperative Extension Service is agricultural production and marketing, thus, potential resources which might have been utilized in Health Education have been devoted to Agriculture in the last several years. This is somewhat a reversal of the trend of the late 60's and early 70's.

With this historical base, let's look at the current Extension Health Care perspective as it is reflected in the 1976 National Survey. The study surveyed all 50 states, one county selected by the State on the basis of having a good health education program and health agencies and organization with which Extension has cooperated in Health Education Programs. Forty-five states, 38 counties, and 231 organizations responded.[1]

The objective of the study was to identify and describe the scope and nature of Extension health education programs in the various state and at the county level and to determine the degree and nature of Extension's involvement with national, state, and local health agencies.

For the purpose of the study, health education was defined to encompass all educational efforts with the primary objectives of fostering desired changes in the physical and mental health attitudes, understandings and practices of individuals, or groups of individuals, and in the use and improvement of the health services delivery systems of communities.

I have attempted to select from the Study the major items which shed some light on an Extension Perspective. Where available, I have used data from the Southern Extension Region.

Perceived Problems

The problems as perceived by Extension are a means of viewing the organizations concern for health care. The three leading problems as identified by state leaders for each program area in the Southern Region were:

Agriculture

Use of Pesticides and Chemicals
Farm Safety - Machinery and Working Conditions
Health Education

Home Economics

Health Education
Nutrition
Heart Disease and Home Safety (tie)

4-H

Preventive Health Measures
Drug and Alcohol Abuse
Nutrition and V.D. (tie)

Community Resource Development

Health Care Delivery Systems
Environmental Health and Safety
Health Education

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[1] Health Education in Extension - A National Survey, 1976. Health Education Subcommittee, Extension Committee on Organization and Policy. College of Agriculture, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802.

While not shown, the counties included in the study tended to rank problems in the same order as the states. The problems listed tend to reflect the concerns of each program area as would be expected. Two things which appear significant are the appearance of health education in three program areas and the inclusion of non-traditional problems.

Health Education Content

Another measure of Extension's health care perspective can be seen by determining the content of their programs. Table 1 provides a picture of both present and future health education content.

This data indicates that health surveys are the only area in which expansion is expected to any degree. It is also significant to note that some decrease (2 states) is expected in preventive health programs; an area in which many including myself, feel Extension can have a much greater impact. In the Southern Region all other content areas are projected to remain constant or slightly decline.

Perceived Role

Another interesting part of the study deals with the ranking of roles by State and County Extension staff members and Health agencies.

Table 2
Average Ranking of Specified Roles in Extension Health Education.

	Southern Region State Ext. Staffs	County Ext. Staff	Health Agencies
(a) Helping people analyze local situations and plan programs	1st	2nd	4th
(b) Cooperating with health agencies and organizations	2nd	1st	2nd
(c) Providing information on health services	3rd	3rd	1st
(d) Disseminating health information	4th	4th	5th
(e) Providing assistance in organizing to obtain services and facilities	5th	5th	3rd

Table 1

Content of State Extension Health Education Programs in Southern Region Present and Future.

	TOTAL STATES				SOUTHERN REGION	
	Present		Future		Present	Future
Program Areas	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.
States Reporting	45	100	45	100	13	13
a. Health education planning	39	87	42	93	12	12
b. Health Surveys	22	49	31	69	7	11
c. Public Information educational programs	41	91	39	87	13	12
d. Agency and organization cooperation	42	93	40	89	12	12
e. Organizing, developing, implementing health programs:						
Prenatal and maternal care	29	64	33	73	9	9
Preventive health care education	36	80	36	80	11	9
Environmental health & safety education	42	93	43	96	13	12
Mental health	34	76	37	82	11	11
Drug use & abuse	37	82	36	80	12	11
Control of communicable diseases	31	69	32	71	10	10
Food safety and purity in the home	44	98	41	91	13	12
f. Nutrition-related health problems	44	98	38	84	12	10
g. Geriatrics	34	76	34	76	9	9
h. Other	17	38	17	38	5	5

While there was some variation between regions, all 4 Extension Regions agreed on the first and last role. Counties rated cooperation with other agencies as number one and helping people plan as number 2, indicating a strong reliance on substantive health information being supplied by others. Organizations tended to think of extension as a referral agency and showed some degree of boundary maintenance. Thus, the perceived role of the county staff and organizations would blend into an operational program.

The low ranking given "providing assistance in organizing to obtain services and facilities" can be viewed with alarm. This is an area of great concern throughout most of the South. The ranking probably indicates the relative low number of Community Resource Development personnel in the States.

Resource Allocation

Extension Resources devoted to Health Education is another way of viewing Extension Health Care Perspective. Two measures available from the study include manpower and finances. There are currently 16 states with full-time state staffs in Home Economics employing 35 people. Six of these states are located in the Southern Region and these employ 19 of the 35 people. Ten of the 13 Southern States have part-time staff members for health education, proportionally more than other regions. More health education staff are employed in Home Economics than any other program area.

The amount of money reported as currently being spent and as needed for Health Education work can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3
Estimated Budget for Health Education Work.

	TOTAL NOW BEING SPENT*		TOTAL NEEDED	
AREA	AMOUNT	AVERAGE	AMOUNT	AVERAGE
All States	$3,803,087	$ 95,077	$15,496,000	$387,400
Eastern	$ 869,100	$ 72,425	$ 3,240,000	$270,000
N. Central	$1,659,000	$165,900	$ 5,390,500	$539,050
Southern	$1,055,782	$105,578	$ 4,610,000	$461,000
Western	$ 219,205	$ 27,401	$ 2,255,500	$281,938

*N=40 States Reporting

Overall the Southern States average spending and perceiving a need for the second largest amount of money per state. One or two of the Southern States account for a disproportionate amount of this sum. Also it appears that heavy spenders see a need for large budgets in the future.

States were asked to respond to a hypothetical 10% increase in staff as to how much of this increase would be used for Health Education. The following results were obtained as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Allocation of Increased Staff	TOTAL STATES No.	TOTAL STATES %	REGIONS Eastern No.	REGIONS N. Central No.	REGIONS Southern No.	REGIONS Western No.
Total REporting*	39	100.0	9	10	10	10
Less than 10%	15	38.5	2	6	3	4
10% - 19%	14	35.9	4	2	4	4
20% - 49%	8	20.5	1	2	3	2
50% and over	2	5.1	2	-	-	-

*6 States did not respond to the question.

This data would indicate that health care is still a relatively low priority area. Only two states would put as much as 1/2 the increased staff in health, and 7 of the 10 Southern States reporting would put less than 20% of the increase in health education.

Projected Emphasis

When asked to project the amount of emphasis to be given health education in the future, the following results were obtained as shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Projected Emphasis to be given Health Education Work.

Degree of Relative Emphasis	TOTAL STATES No.	TOTAL STATES %	SOUTHERN REGION NO.	SOUTHERN REGION %
Total Reporting	45	100.0	13	100.0
To Increase a Lot	2	4.4	2	15.4
To Increase Somewhat	32	71.2	9	69.2
To Remain the Same	10	22.2	2	15.4
To Decrease Somewhat	1	2.2	0	0
To Decrease a Lot	0	-	0	0
No Opinion	0	-	0	0

According to this data some increase in emphasis is expected in 11 of the 13 Southern states or 85% compared to 76% nationwide. This is higher than any other Extension Region. The increase is fairly evenly distributed between Home Economics, 4-H, and Community Resource Development.

The report concluded that:

> Extension is obviously involved in a viable health education effort of considerable magnitude. The problems identified by Extension are real and consistent with those disclosed by other objective sources. Extension's capabilities and qualifications for carrying on a program of health education are recognized by many within Extension as well as by outside organizations.
>
> The importance of administrative support for health education is critical; so also is the integration of the effort which encompasses all four Extension program areas. This finding has implications for both program development and organization.
>
> Survey results also suggest the importance of improved coordination with non-Extension departments or divisions within the university system and with health-related organizations or agencies outside the land-grant institution. More emphasis on program planning with full-scale involvement of relevant agencies, organizations, and groups would undoubtedly result in more effective programs. The probability of increased program impact would be greatly enhanced by increased emphasis on evaluation.
>
> In summary, Extension has the potential for meeting the need for more effective health education. There is much historical evidence to support that Extension can conduct an effective and successful program of health education for adults and 4-H members through its current delivery system.

While not all (leaders in Health and Extension) see an increased role for Extension in Health Care, many do. These views range from an increase in traditional functions, (safety, nutrition, 4-H health projects, etc.) to a major role in attitudes and skills affecting health maintenance. The success of Extension's delivery system is generally referred to when programs such as health care is looking for means of expanding.

It is true that Extension has a very good delivery system which generally includes neighborhood programs as well as trust with community decision makers. It is my opinion that Extension could better utilize this system to provide a major impact on rural health care in areas such as:

Chemical safety
Family health maintenance
General health education
Consumer input into health policies
Facilitating organization for improving health facilities and services

Further, it is my opinion that Extension could provide these kinds of programs at less expense than any other agency. However, to bring about a significant increase in Extension programs, some additional funds would be necessary and a stronger commitment would be needed from more State Extension Directors and other key administrators. Further, any significant increase in Health Care Programs must be accompanied with the cooperation of the appropriate health agencies.

I believe that there are programs in the Southern States which supports this reasoning.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCAL POLICE: A New Look at the Racial Variable

by

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Research has established that nonwhites are less favorable toward local police than whites,[1] and that race has consistently exhibited stronger associations with these sentiments than such important variables as sex (Biderman, et al., 1967:138; Ennis, 1967:58; Campbell and Schuman, 1968; McCaghy, et al., 1968; Hindelang, 1974), age (Campbell and Schuman, 1968;Bouma, 1969:66; Gamson and McEvoy, 1970; Smith and Hawkins,1973; Hindelang, 1974; Hadar and Snortum, 1975), and socioeconomic status (Biderman, et al., 1967:138-139; Ennis, 1967:58; Bouma, 1969:66; Gamson and Mc Evoy, 1970; Hindelang, 1974).

However, the knowledge we have about the specific effects of race on attitudes toward local police is limited in at least five ways. First, this knowledge is almost exclusively restricted to instrumental attitudes, such as "satisfaction" with police job performance. There is little information on the import of race for affective sentiment toward local police, such as how well they are liked.

Second, hardly any data exist about white and nonwhite attitudes toward local police in comparison to their feelings about other well-known public organizations. A few studies have compared attitudes toward local police by race to attitudes toward other police organizations (e.g., state, federal) or another occupation (Bailey and Mendelsohn, 1969:40; Bouma, 1969:66-68; Hindelang, 1974); but none have examined how race affects sentiment toward local police in relation to its consequences for attitudes toward a substantial list of other well-known public organizations. Thus, it is difficult to determine how much racial differences in attitudes toward local police are aimed specifically at them, as opposed to being a function of racial variations in evaluations of most public organizations or of law enforcement organizations in general.

The third limitation is also of a comparative nature. The usual strategy has been to examine the consequences of race with only one or at best two other variables simultaneously controlled.[2] The possibility that several additional variables, either singly or in combination, might alter the importance of race in accounting for attitudes toward local police has not been systematically explored.[3]

Fourth, there is little consistent information on how particular variables affect sentiment toward local police within racial categories. Perhaps the most uniform finding is that white as well as nonwhite youth are more negative toward local police (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Gamson and McEvoy, 1970; Wallach and Jackson, 1973; Boggs and Galliher, 1975); but there is some disagreement concerning nonwhite youth (Smith and Hawkins, 1973). Disagreement on the operation of other key variables within racial categories is the rule rather than the exception. For example, Biderman et al. (1967:138) report that white and nonwhite females are more favorable toward local police; however, McCaghy, et al. (1968) show that women of both races are more uncertain as to whether they are satisfied with police; and Ennis (1967:58) and Campbell and Schuman (1970) find little association by sex within either racial category. Equally muddled is the picture concerning socioeconomic status. Although nearly all studies report positive associations between various indicators of socioeconomic status and regard for local police among whites (an exception is the finding by Gamson and McEvoy, 1970, that the more highly educated whites have less positive attitudes toward local police), among nonwhites no clear trend emerges. Ennis (1967:58) and Gamson and McEvoy (1970) report negative associations; Biderman, et al. (1967:138-139) and Boggs and Galliher (1975) uncover mixed findings; and Bouma (1969:57) discloses a positive relationship in a general sample of black and white youth.

Finally, much of the confusion on how selected variables affect attitudes toward police within racial categories may be a result of sampling different and possibly unique geographic locations. Only two of the eighteen studies are based on national probability samples (Ennis, 1967; Hindelang, 1974). Since only one of these employed as many as two simultaneous controls when examining this topic, our knowledge about the relationship on a national level is incomplete.

Employing data from a national sample, this study attempts to deal with all five limitations. It will first use two comparative strategies to examine differences between whites and nonwhites in affective attitudes toward local police. One strategy will compare these differences to racial differences in attitudes toward other well-known public organizations. To determine whether the addition of other important variables alters the association between race and sentiment toward local police, as well as to examine how well race compares to them in accounting for this sentiment, the other strategy will relate racial effects to the effects of nine other simultaneously controlled variables. After investigating differences between racial categories, the effect of these nine variables on sentiment toward local police within the two racial categories will be explored.

METHODS

The following question, asked of a probability sample of American adults in 1973 (AIPO 874, N=1554), presented the opportunity to examine racial variations in sentiment toward local police.

> Here is an interesting experiment. You notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position of plus 5--or something you like very much--all the way down to the lowest position of minus 5--or something you dislike very much. How far up the scale or how far down the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following organizations?

In the exact order and wording of the poll, the sixteen organizations rated were CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), Ku Klux Klan, A.M.A. (American Medical Association), John Birch Society, N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), AFL-CIO (Labor Unions), N.A.M. (National Association of Manufacturers), C.I.A.

(Central Intelligence Agency), A.C.L.U. (American Civil Liberties Union), Your Local Police Department, U.S. Supreme Court, Congress, The Press, The United States, and Russia.

To assess sentiment toward each organization, a score of ten to one was assigned to the scale items (+5 to -5), with ten representing the most positive rating. The other variables were measured as follows. 1) race (divided into white and nonwhite; 2) sex; 3) age in years; 4) city size (12 categories); 5) region (South and nonsouth); 6) religious affiliation (Protestant and nonprotestant); 7) occupation of household head (scored from 1 to 4 in ascending order: unskilled, skilled, clerical/sales, and professional/business executive); 8) education (8 categories); 9) income (11 categories); and 10) political party (Democrat vs. nondemocrat).

Multiple regression was selected as the method of analysis. Attention will be given to both standardized regression coefficients and percent of explained variance as indicators of the explanatory ability of race and the other variables.[5]

FINDINGS

Differences Between Racial Categories

Data in Table 1 focus on how well race accounts for sentiment toward local police in comparison to the nine other variables. While none of the variables exactly overpower liking of police ($R^2 = .058$), the widely reported finding that nonwhites are more negative than whites remains intact. Accounting for about one-fifth of the explained variance, race predicts feelings better than all the other variables except age. The fact that age comes out ahead of race in predictive ability, however, is contrary to expectations established from six previous studies. This divergent finding may

TABLE 1. Effects of Ten Variables on Liking for Local Police

	Standardized Regression Coefficient[a]	Rank of Stnd. Regression Coefficient	Percent of Explained Variance	Explained Variance (R^2)
Age	-.194***	1	46.6	.058***
Race	-.114***	2	19.0	
City Size	.067*	3	6.9	
Income	.065*	4	5.2	
Education	-.038	5	1.7	
Sex	.033	6	1.7	
Occupation	.032	7	1.7	
Region	-.030	8	1.7	
Democrat	.005	9	0.0	
Protestant	-.003	10	0.0	

[a] In this and subsequent tables, level of statistical significance is determined by testing the unstandardized regression coefficient; and
*Significant at or beyond the .05 level.
**Significant at or beyond the .01 level.
***Significant at or beyond the .001 level.

be partly a consequence of our focus on affective attitudes and our use of national sample data, since none of the six previous studies employed both strategies. It does not seem due to our use of simultaneous controls, since the zero-order correlation for age was larger than for race.

Still, an explanation is needed of why race accounts for the variation in sentiment toward local police that it does. Data in Table 2 compare its ability to predict this sentiment with its ability to predict feelings toward other organizations. This analysis provides some leads about possible causes of the more negative nonwhite feelings. First, such feelings do not seem to result from more negative attitudes toward public organizations across the board, since no statistically significant regression coefficients emerge for associations between race and sentiment toward nine of the sixteen organizations. Neither are these feelings likely a function of racial variation in sentiment toward police organizations in general. If this were true, nonwhites should also be negative toward the FBI; yet race accounts for very little of the explained variance in liking for this organization.

TABLE 2. Effects of Race on Liking for Local Police and Fifteen Other Public Organizations.

	Stnd. Reg. Coefficient of Race	Rank of Race's Stnd. Reg. Coeff. in Each Re-analysis	Race's % of Expl. Variance	Explained Variance (R^2)
NAACP	.297***	1	56.8	.132***
CORE	.218***	1	38.5	.104***
USA	-.178***	1	34.2	.079***
KKK	-.120***	2	20.7	.058***
Local Police	-.114***	2	19.0	.058***
ACLU	.110***	4	10.4	.096***
AFL-CIO	.066*	4	5.3	.076***
Supreme Court	.049	3	11.8	.017**
The Press	.045	5	3.4	.059***
FBI	-.029	9	1.4	.069***
Congress	-.019	5	0.0	.018**
Russia	-.019	7.5	0.0	.060***
John Birch Soc.	-.013	10	0.0	.049***
NAM	.011	7	0.0	.011
CIA	-.005	10	0.0	.031***
AMA	.000	10	0.0	.077***

However, the company in which local police find themselves suggests that racial differences in feeling toward them may be linked to respondents' views that local police take sides on racial issues. Of the other six organizations about which race predicts statistically significant differences in sentiment, nonwhites are more positive toward those supportive of minority rights--NAACP, CORE, and ACLU--and more negative toward the predominantly white USA, the KKK, and local police. This suggests that, as Blauner (1969) and Marx (1971) have argued, the police may be perceived as pro-white. Thus, while racial differences in liking for local police seem due neither to racial variations in evaluations or public organizations or of law enforcement organizations in general, these differences may be linked to perceptions of local police as being on the side of whites in racial issues.

Differences within Racial Categories

To acquire further understanding of racial differences in sentiment toward local police, regression analyses were run within the two racial categories using the nine remaining variables. Results of these analyses (in Table 3) show essentially different forces, none of which are very potent, at work among whites and nonwhites.[6] While the two location variables--city size and region--together account for about the same proportion of explained variance in both groups, there are noticeable differences in the effects of several other variables.

TABLE 3. Effects of Selected Variables on Liking for Local Police among Whites and Nonwhites

	White (N=1314)			Nonwhite (N=185)		
	Standard Regression Coefficient	Rank of Std. Reg. Coeff.	% of R^2	Standard Regression Coefficient	Rank of Std. Reg. Coeff.	% of R^2
Age	.218***	1	66.0	.035	8	2.1
City Size	.088**	2	13.2	-.079	6	8.5
Income	.074*	3	7.5	.082	5	8.5
Education	-.035	4	1.9	-.103	3	12.8
Democrat	.027	5.5	1.9	-.083	4	14.9
Occupation	.027	5.5	0.0	.119	1	19.1
Sex.	.023	7	1.9	.113	2	25.5
Region	-.013	8	0.0	-.077	7	8.5
Protestant	-.003	9	0.0	.003	9	0.0
	R^2=.053***			R^2=.047		

First, socioeconomic status variables--income, education and occupational status--together account for 40 percent of the explained variance among nonwhites but only nine percent among whites. Sex accounts for 26 percent of the explained variance among nonwhites as opposed to two percent among whites. Finally, age, to which only two percent of the explained variance among nonwhites can be attributed, accounts for 66 percent among whites.

These differences are worth noting for two reasons. First, the very small influence of SES variables and sex on white sentiment toward local police, as well as the similarly trivial effect of age on nonwhite attitudes, conflicting with the findings of previous studies.

The other reason these findings are worth noting is that they seem to form a meaningful pattern. Observational studies, which consistently report negative feelings toward local police among their primarily young and nonwhite samples of subjects who have contact with police (most of these studies are listed in McCall, 1974:Chapter 3; also see Ford, et al., 1975; Alex, 1976:Chapter 5), offer a clue to this pattern. To the extent that

that local police are pro-white, greater contact with them should increase awareness of their biases. Thus, nonwhites, who have both more reason to be displeased with pro-white local police and more contact with them, would be expected to be more negative than whites. Additionally, those nonwhites who are most likely to be aware of this police role--those who have either had more contact, such as males and persons with lower incomes or occupations, or those who have gained awareness through being exposed to the critical orientation of higher education--would be expected to be more negative.[7] Hence, differential awareness of the pro-white nature of local police--whether through contact or education--may underlie both differences between whites and nonwhites as well as variations among nonwhites.

If the interpretation of local police as pro-white is generalized to local police as pro-adult power structure, then the effects of age on white attitudes also appears understandable. While white contact with police may vary by age, sex and SES, awareness of local police as pro-adult would be expected to result in negative appraisal primarily in the case of youth. Of the groupings which these three variables generate (i.e., age, sex and class groupings), youth appear to be most conscious of their group interests versus those of the adult establishment, as illustrated by conflict in the recent decade over Viet Nam, control of higher education, the hippie movement, and drug laws.[8] This consciousness, coupled with more frequent contact of youth with local police, should heighten their awareness of local police as pro-adult/anti-youth and thus increase their negative sentiment.

CONCLUSION

Our efforts to extend current knowledge about how race affects attitudes toward local police have produced two basic findings. First, contrary to expectations from past research, race is not the best predictor of these attitudes. Although nonwhites continue to like police less than whites, age accounts for the largest proportion of the explained variance. The predictive ability race does possess seems a consequence of identifying local police as an organization oriented toward white interests in racial matters. Second, different forces affect attitudes toward local police within the white and nonwhite samples. Among nonwhites, socioeconomic status variables and sex account for nearly three-fourths of the explained variance in these attitudes. Age has the strongest effect on white sentiment. Although these differences are weak, they do form a meaningful pattern. Both the general differences between nonwhites and whites in attitudes toward local police and differences in the specific forces which affect these attitudes among nonwhites and whites are interpretable as a consequence of differential awareness of local police as pro-white and pro-establishment.

Assuming that these findings are not merely artifacts of the statistical procedures employed, what are their implications?[9] First, those concerned with altering police images need to consider the apparent identification of local police as oriented toward white and establishment interests. Additionally, these findings suggest that focusing on certain segments of populations--age categories among whites and socioeconomic and sex categories among nonwhites--would be more productive than a shot gun approach aimed at whites or nonwhites as a whole.

More important, however, are three sociological implications. First, the divergence of these findings from those reported in the current literature emphasizes the necessity for dealing with the limitations of previous studies of attitudes toward local police. Second, they point to the need to consider different variables in explanations of white versus nonwhite isolation from local police, as well as the necessity for giving more attention to age in studies of this isolation among general samples.

Finally, they indicate the utility of a conflict framework in future explorations of these attitudes. Those groups usually most at odds with the local power structure which police ordinarily represent--nonwhites and youth among the general population, white youth, and males and lower status persons among nonwhites--are those most estranged from local police.

NOTES

1. These eighteen studies are asterisked in the references section.

2. Bouma (1969:65-66) is an exception, but his sample is limited to Michigan youth ages 11-15 and his analysis restricted to a few paragraphs of an entire book.

3. For example, religious affiliation is almost never controlled in these analyses (Bouma, 1969:65-66, is the exception). Given its variation with race and its usual emphasis on morality, religion possesses the potentiality of affecting the association between race and sentiment toward a morality-enforcing organization like the local police. Likewise, not one study has simultaneously controlled for all three major socioeconomic status indicators--occupation, education and income.

4. In the effort to be more precise, we initially measured both religious affiliation and political party in terms of two dummy variables--Protestant vs. nonprotestant and Catholic vs. noncatholic, Democrat vs. nondemocrat and Republican vs. nonrepublican. This procedure presented no problems when used with the entire sample or with whites. When used with nonwhites, however, both the Republican and Catholic categories were too small for reliable analysis and had to be abandoned. Comparison of results obtained with this procedure to the one we finally used (i.e., simply dichotomizing the two variables) altered the findings little among either the entire sample or within the white category.

5. Two methodological notes are necessary at this point. First, percent of explained variance is based on "unique variance"--that proportion of R^2 attributable only to a particular variable. That is, it is the difference between the R^2 of the next-to-last step of the regression analysis that does not contain the variable in question and the R^2 of the last step, which does contain this variable. To calculate percent of explained variance, unique variance is divided by the R^2 of the last step of the regression analysis. Second, the multiple regression program used eliminates respondents with missing data on the dependent variable. When missing data are encountered on any independent variable, however, it performs a pairwise

deletion, thus keeping the respondent in the analysis (see Armor and Couch, 1972). The only variable on which this procedure could have any appreciable effect was occupational prestige, on which about 25 percent of the respondents have missing data (most of which were designated as "not in labor force," such as housewives, retired, and students).

6. While the size of the explained variance and of the standardized regression coefficients among nonwhites are similar to those obtained among whites, none are statistically significant because of the much smaller number of nonwhite respondents. This lack of statistical significance makes interpretation of results of the analysis among nonwhites more risky.

7. Since it seems reasonable to expect that nonwhite youth experience more contact with local police, why aren't they more negative than older nonwhites toward police? Although younger nonwhites have likely experienced more recent contact with local police, there is good reason to think that the police contact of older whites a few decades ago (when they were young) was more negative, harsh and explicitly racist. Thus, harshness of previous contacts may make the pro-white police role as salient for older nonwhites as recency of contacts does for younger nonwhites.

8. Actually, interests of lower class persons may be more at odds with those of the establishment, but these seem not to be perceived as acutely as differing interests of youth.

9. Since multiple regression can only uncover linear relationships, curvilinear associations between certain key variables and attitudes toward police could have produced these results. To explore this possibility, the uncontrolled relationships (i.e., zero-order) of age, occupation, income, and education to liking for local police were examined for curvilinearity. Among both whites and nonwhites, no significant departures from linearity appeared. (There was a slight tendency toward curvilinearity between both occupation and education and liking for police among nonwhites, but this tendency should have reduced, not augmented, the predictive ability of these variables among nonwhites.)

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MISINFORMATION: A BASIC PROBLEM FOR COMMUNITY CORRECTION AGENCIES

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INTRODUCTION

Every item of information that is information tells us something that enables us to do or decide something, without which we could not so do or decide. The distinction between deciding and doing is often determined by the fine line that is drawn by the completeness of information. Correction agencies in a community, be they concerned with probation, parole or presentence treatment programs, must have information about each client they attempt to treat.

As with all agencies, information that community correction agencies possess comes both through formal and informal channels. Information that comes through formal channels mostly comes from written records about individuals that military, government, and business bureaus keep. Those "formal" records about individuals that are of major importance to correction agencies are: military; educational; human services; work; police; court; and credit records.

Information that the correction agencies have that comes through informal channels is gathered by talking and asking people in the community what they know or think they know about a client. This information comes from both people who work in formal organizations and people who do not.

This paper will address itself to two problem areas in correction that affect the kinds of information that the probation officer uses in the character assessment of his client.

One area concerns concealment of records. The client, although he is a law offender, may have been told that some of his court and police records are sealed, expunged or held in confidence while they are not. For example, a state with a concealment statute cannot require the F.B.I. to seal or return records to it. Nor do concealment statutes help an ex-offender in relation to security checks.

However, concealment laws encourage institutional lying. Should the client not tell the probation officer about all of his past record with the law and risk being exposed as a liar? Should the client tell the probation officer all about his past offenses and thereby risk having the officer impose greater restrictions on his probation "contract?" When the probation officer finds out about a record that the client thought was concealed the officer loses a great deal of respect for the client. Thereafter the rapport between client and "counselor" is damaged.

The second problem area and the one to which this paper is basically directed concerns the misinformation that the correction officer has about the client which causes the client to distrust the probation officer.

MISINFORMATION

Misinformation is faulty information that occurs when individuals and their records are confused. How common is misinformation? Certainly Hollywood would have us believe that it is quite common. Too, one of the most common themes in literature relates to the problems an individual gets into because he looks, talks, and acts almost exactly like another person. Is there any reader of fiction who has not been entranced from the beginning to the end of a novel by whether a "good guy" can prove his innocence since many witnesses are absolutely sure they saw him at the scene of a crime.

Even if our fictive protagonist does not look and act like somebody else he is still not out of trouble. It is not unusual for him to have the same name as somebody else who is the same age and from the same state. The plot from here on can get intricate. Our make-believe antagonist is the owner of a very healthy criminal record. It seems that the police have confused his--Mr. Innocent's record--with Mr. Guilty's. In fact, Innocent's nemesis has no police record whatsoever although he enjoys the reputation of being the slickest criminal in town. The plot compounds itself. Out non-criminal can never get a job in federal, state or local government; but our criminal can, does, and is currently a working bureaucrat. Unfortunately, our non-criminal is rather drawn and emaciated. He cannot get a job. Even if he could he would still be in trouble because his credit rating is "zilch." Would the reader care to guess why?

REASONS FOR MISINFORMATION

Real problems concerning misinformation do exist and they are especially crucial to any correction agency because it makes use of the records of virtually all institutions and agencies in society. It also uses informal information about clients which is gathered by talking to people who know the clients or think they know them. Therefore, any information about an individual whether formal or informal in nature can influence how a correction agency evaluates its clients. For the above reasons there is a greater chance for misinformation to exist in correction agencies than in most other agencies in society.

COMMUNITY MISINFORMATION

Causes for misinformation exist in every community in society. The author has lived in about twenty states in America. In several communities in these states he has been told that he looks like other individuals who live there. Moreover, since he has a common name he has had his records and bills confused with others in most places that he has lived. Let us consider some of the misinformation problems of others.

SELECTED CASES CONCERNING MISINFORMATION

In 1969 at Mississippi State University there were two young men who had the same first and last names. One sold marijuana, but the other only smoked it. State narcotic agents were told by an informant that the individual they were looking for was residing at a certain location in town and his plans called for a pot party that night. In the raid that followed the officers did not arrest the individual they wanted to. But, the person they did arrest spent thousands of dollars trying to get the charge reduced and stay out of jail. Eventually he was placed on five years' probation. The pot seller upon hearing of the arrest left Mississippi in the dead of the aforementioned night.

Even more striking than cases involving name confusion and misinformation are those that involve persons who look alike and misinformation. Cogitate about this case of look alikes. A person who is now a judge in West Virginia was travelling through northern California in 1952. Somewhere around Neadles he was pulled over by the highway patrol. With guns drawn patrolmen approached his vehicle. Obviously, they were taking no chances. The police demanded that our look-alike extract himself from his car with the greatest of caution and with hands held high. As he did so the officers cuffed him and put bracelets around his ankles. Despite the seeming seriousness of the situation the officers were very polite. Fortunately, so was the individual arrested.

Two hours after the person was taken into custody the man police were really looking for was apprehended in the same general area in California. When the two suspects were brought together some amazed people could hardly believe their senses. The two were almost identical in appearance. To complicate matters their speech patterns were very similar. Both had pronounced southern accents. Minor differences were noted in that one was not as well groomed as the other and his face was pock marked. (The reader is advised to remember that this problem could have been a fatal experience for an innocent man.)

This incident occurred in a small town in western North Carolina. A youth lost his driver's license. A person of similar appearance found it and used it. (In North Carolina there is a colored photograph of each driver on his driver's license.) The person that was using the license illegally was in several accidents and got a number of traffic tickets.

The last the author heard about the case the owner of the license was having his license suspended even though he had no traffic violations. He was rather incensed because he had informed the state upon its loss.

The final example to be cited to do with two young men who live in the same town in Oregon. They have the same first and last names. To further confuse matters they have the same middle initials. Both are frequently before the law. When one is in jail the other is thought to be the one arrested but out on bail. Both claim they are unduely harrassed by the police over the confusion in names.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Surprisingly, sociologists have for the most part ignored the problems attendent to identify confusion in a mass society. This is evident in deviance and social problems courses in sociology where the matter is simply not focused upon. This is so even though Durkheim, Simmel and Weber were acutely aware of how bureaus "depersonalize" individuals in the process of increasing man's efficiency.

This problem is not that uncommon though. Consider the state of California where in the late 1960's the legislature felt that misinformation problems occur often enough that it legislated a statute whereby those whose records are confused with others could seek redress before the law and remedy by expungement.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Since correction agencies work with information that comes from all sectors of the community this study is concerned with finding out how common the problem of misinformation is in a community. The effects of misinformation on correction agencies could have a crucial influence on probationers' and parolees' lives.

THE STUDY

The study was conducted in a town of about twenty thousand people in middle Tennessee. Students in a social psychology class at Tennessee Technological University gathered data through telephone interviews. A selected sampling plan was followed where each student was given a series of names to call based on where the names fell alphabetically in the telephone book. In all, 180 people were interviewed by students. Questions that were asked of respondents related to whether they had been in trouble with: law; military; health services; I.R.S.; finances; friends; or neighbors due to record confusion? Questions were also asked of them about whether they had their names confused with others, had been mistaken for others or had themselves ever made mistakes in identifying others?

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Formal Misinformation

In the study, record misinformation was not found to be as great a problem as writers of fiction would have us believe. In fact, out of one hundred and eighty persons interviewed only ten had problems with the law due to record confusion with others; only five had problems with social welfare services; and only twenty-six had problems with income tax records; fifteen had problems with their mail.

The most common problem of subjects concerning formal record confusion related to financial records. Fully one-half of the respondents had experienced some difficulties in this area.

Because so many of the subjects had financial problems and because so little is known about misinformation the decision was made to test for the relationship between level of formal education of respondents and the confusion of their financial records.

On the one hand, people with little formal education change their occupations often due to the seasonal and sporadic nature of their work; one would think that the more often they change jobs and move to other ones the greater the likelihood would be for their financial records to be confused with others. On the other hand, the more formally educated are very mobile both socially and geographically. This mobility could also lead to financial misinformation due to the exchange and generation of many financial records in several or many different communities.

When data were analyzed it was found that only twenty-five percent of the respondents with zero to eight years of education had their financial records confused with others while it happened to seventy-one percent of those that had nine to twelve years of education and to fifty-one percent of those that had some education beyond high school. (See Table 1.) Chi square is significant at the .005 level of probability.

TABLE 1

Relationship Between Level of Education
and Confusion of Financial Records

Financial Problems Due to Record Confusion	Level of Education							
	thru 8		9-12		College		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	15	25	49	71	26	51	90	50
No	46	75	20	29	24	49	90	50
Total	61	100	69	100	50	100	180	100

$x^2 = 28.0$
$P < .005$

What about name confusion and its relationship to record confusion? The data show that persons who have eight years of education or less are not nearly as likely to have their records mistaken for others by name confusion as are the more formally educated. Indeed, only eight percent of those who are in the zero to eight years of education category have had this occur while almost half of those in the nine to twelve years of education category have; as have sixty percent of those with some college experience. (See Table 2.)

TABLE 2

Relationship Between Level of Education
and Name Confusion

Name Confusion	Level of Education							
	thru 8		9-12		College		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	5	8	35	51	30	60	70	39
No	56	92	34	49	20	40	110	61
Total	61	100	69	110	50	100	180	100

$x^2 = 37.7$
$P < .005$

INFORMAL MISINFORMATION

How many problems have respondents had involving misinformation at the informal level? Most respondents in the study--one hundred and twenty-nine of the one hundred and eighty--had been confused with someone else at least once because of similarities in appearance. Moreover, seventy-two percent of those who had eight years of education or less had been misidentified, as had seventy-eight percent of those who had nine to twelve years of education. Those with some college education were not as likely to have been mistaken for others--sixty-two percent--but the number that was is substantial.

When the question was asked 'Have you ever made a mistake in identifying people yourself?' an overwhelming number had--one hundred and sixty-three of the respondents answered the question affirmative. Of those in the zero to eight years of education category eighty-eight percent answered yes while ninety-three percent answered yes in the nine to twelve years of education category; ninety percent of those that had some education beyond high school answered yes.

CONCLUSION

While misinformation does not occur as often at the formal level as the general public has been led to believe, it is a very common phenomenon at the informal level. Since correction agencies are community oriented and gather much of their information informally they should assess this type of information with a great deal of caution and care. Though they are not judges their recommendation to the judges carry much weight. The information these officers father is not examined as closely for facticity as it would be in a court of law and the direction that the informal information leads probation officers to follow may be the wrong one indeed. Too, once the probation officer's report becomes part of the formal court record it is almost impossible to remove its effects for as we have seen expungement and sealing of records do not work.

Comparative Organizational Properties and Interdependence in Interorganizational Dyads *

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COMPARATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL PROPERTIES AND INTERDEPENDENCE IN INTERORGANIZATIONAL DYADS

A principal focus of the interorganizational relations literature has been on the specification of factors that determine the occurrence, intensity, and extent of transactions between organizational systems (Pfeffer, 1972; Schermerhorn, 1976). Attention has been directed toward intra-organizational factors which lead organizations to seek relations with outside groups (Aiken and Hage, 1968: Mindlin and Aldrich, 1975), and environmental forces that compell these relations (Dill, 1958 Emery and Trist, 1965; Benson, 1975; Aldrich, 1976; and Metcalfe, 1976). The fit, compatibility, and congruence of the organizational interface, however, represents one dimension that has not been systematically examined.

Marrett (1971) identified the comparative dimension as one set of factors affecting relations between groups. Comparative properties refer to similarities and differences of interacting organizations on certain dimensions or attributes. The comparative dimension has been viewed as an initial determinant of the occurrence of interorganizational relationships, and as a factor in their continued existence and success (Van de Ven, 1974). Comparative properties may have an important influence on the amount and kind of interdepedence that develops between organizations.

Interdependence

Interdependence joins the elements of an interorganizational network in common or interrelated activities. Organizations develop interdependencies in order to obtain resources or outcomes that may be less readily available through the efforts of individual units. The exchanges and commitments that characterize this process are transacted on the basis of their actual or anticipated consequences for organizational goals and objectives (Levine and White, 1961). Interdependence may provide new resources or allow more efficient use of existing allocations. In this way, interdependence has been argued to be a productive means for improving the effectiveness of interorganizational service delivery systems (Hage, 1975).

Interorganizational interdependence occurs in a number of different forms. Joint programming and the flow of information and resources between groups represent some of the specific types of interdependence that have been investigated (Aiken and Hage, 1968; White, 1974b: Rogers and Molnar, 1975; and others). Other aspects of interdependence include personnel flows and the development of joint ventures (Baty and Rothermal, 1971; Pfeffer and Nowak, 1976). Finally, several studies have demonstrated the sequential development of different types of interdependence in interorganizational relationships (Rogers, 1974; Klonglan et al., 1976).

The purpose of this study is to examine comparative organizational properties as determinants of three aspects of interdependence in networks of public agencies. Attention is focused on four different areas of interorganizational comparison that may affect the level and kind of linkage that develops between groups. To pursue this purpose, the dyad, or pair of organizations, will be the unit of analysis.

The organizational dyad

The organizational dyad offers several advantages as a focus for investigation. First, the dyad is a primary interorganizational unit of analysis. Cooperation, conflict, and interdependence are directly manifested and observed in bilateral relations between organizations. Larger systems of interaction may be operative, but resource flows and communication occur in elemental form between individual organizations, two at a time.

Second, the comparative property represents a type of variable unique to the dyad as a unit of analysis. Similarity and differences constitute a dimension generally accessible only through the comparison of units, two at a time. Simmel (1956:122) noted:

> the simplest sociological formation, methodologically speaking, remains that which operates between two elements. It contains the scheme, germ, and material of innumerable more complex forms. . . . Not only are many general forms of sociation realized in it in a very pure and characteristic fashion; what is more, the limitation to two members is a condition under which alone several forms of relationship exist . . . occasionally these forms exist as much between two groups - families, states, and organizations of various kinds - as between two individuals.

Third, the dyad permits the analysis of purely relational properties of organizations in conjunction with comparative properties of dyadic components. The similarity, complementarity, or congruence of organizations may in large part determine the nature of relations between them. The present study is intended to explore the implications associated with the third advantage of the dyad in the study of interorganizational relations.

A limited number of studies have examined organizational dyads (Benson, 1975; Aldrich, 1974; Warren et al., 1974; Paulson, 1976). These studies did not systematically examine the comparative properties of dyads and their consequences for interdependence in interorganizational relationships.

Comparative properties

Comparative properties refer to that dimensions or continuum in which similarity and difference are polar opposites. Comparative properties are global dyadic properties reflecting the degree to which elements are similar along various dimensions or attributes (Marrett, 1971). This section examines the literature on similarities and differences and their consequences for interorganizational relationships.

Similarity is the degree to which elements resemble or bear likeness to one another. It is a basis for association and the formation of groups. The ecological perspective incorporates the notion of similarities in explaining interdependence. However, as Guetzkow (1966:31) notes, little research has employed the concepts of human ecology for understanding the mutual relations of organizations and their environments.

Commensalism and symbiosis are two types of interdependence within this perspective. Commensal interdependence is based upon supplementary similarities between units (Hawley, 1950:132). Interdependence based upon similarity is viewed as a protective or conservative type of linkage since the components are homogenous with respect to one another.

Whettan (1974) employed commensalism as an explanatory principle in analyzing relationships among organizations sharing a common resource base. A division of labor within commensal linkages permits an orderly access to common resources by avoiding disruptive disputes over allocation criteria. The costs of such disputes may exceed the potential gains. Some important costs may include risking disruption in the reliable flow of resources and loss of favorable image among groups that are indirectly involved in the relationship.

Interdependence based upon complementary differences is termed symbiosis. Symbiosis is predicated on the presence of interlocking needs that cannot be independently met (Hawley, 1950). Gouldner (1960) has described the group-stabilizing functions of complementary differences that often underly structures of interdependence.

Commensalism refers to relationships based on shared needs for a common resource; symbiosis refers to relationships based on interlocking needs for different types of resources. Both are important factors in relations between organizations. Commensalism links organizations sharing common activities; symbiosis links organizations engaging in separate but related activities. This study focuses on commensalistic linkages and their consequences for interorganizational relations.

Comparative properties present an initial set of conditions for the occurrence of an interorganizational relationship. They also define the context for continuing interaction between groups. Some areas of comparison may have greater impact than others, and may be differentially important for different types of interdependence.

One central area of interorganizational comparison is organizational domain. Levine and White (1961) define domain as the specific goals an organization wishes to pursue and the functions it seeks to undertake in order to achieve these goals. Domain often is measured in terms of the population served, the technology employed, and the services rendered by an organization (Meyer, 1975). Domains defines the relative position of an organization vis à vis other groups in the interorganizational field, and the set of environmental relationships critical to that position (Warren et al., 1974).

Two comparative dimensions of organizational domain will be examined, organizational output similarity, and output constituency similarity. Other important areas of comparison are organizational decision-making structure, and the characteristics of boundary personnel. These four were chosen because they represent areas of comparison that previous literature has suggested to be important for interorganizational relationships. A discussion of each set of comparative properties follows.

Organizational output similarity

The kind of outputs an organization provides to its environment is one central criterion for distinguishing domains within a given substantive area (Levine and White, 1961). Some hospitals may treat infectious diseases; others may not. Some natural resource organizations may offer cost-sharing assistance; others may not.

Some writers have viewed output similarity as a source of avoidance in interorganizational relationships (Evan, 1966; White, 1974b). Organizations that offer similar services may regard each other as threatening, or as constraining their individual efforts to offer comprehensive services. Some interdependencies, however, may be unavoidable, and may be conflict issues in themselves. This commensalistic interpretation of interdependence emphasizes limitations on available resources.

An alternative argument states that similarity is a strong prerequisite for interdependence among organizations. Two organizations may become interdependent if each perceives that its own goals can be achieved more effectively with the assistance of the resources of the other (Reid, 1969). Organizations with similar domains are likely to encounter comparable resource needs and are more likely to be able to employ the resources that the other possesses. Similar resource needs increases the liklihood of exchange, competition or conflict also may occur, but are generally avoided as the costlier alternative to both parties.

The central importance of similar organizational outputs in generating interdependence is the underlying similarity of resource needs that it implies. Reid (1969) hypothesizes that the greater the similarity of mutually dependent goals, the greater the interdependence and the greater the extent and stability of exchanges.

Sharing some functions may be more important than sharing others for the development of interdependence. The functions of an organization determine its degree of dependence on other groups for specific kinds of resources, as well as its capacity to make resource available to other groups. The exchange model explains interdependence largely in terms of the respective functions performed by the participating agencies (Levine and White, 1961:597).

Output constituency similarity

The kinds of clients that comprise an organization's input and receive its outputs represent another dimension of domain (Levine and White, 1961). Client characteristics may differentiate organizational domains, as a children's hospital is distinguished from a veteran's hospital. Some natural resource organizations deal predominantly with farmers, others may serve only sportsmen.

Organizations that do not share output constituencies may be less concerned with competition, and more readily develop interdependence. This line of reasoning seems less convincing, however, than the contrary view that similarity is a source of interdependence.

Organizations with similar output constituencies are more likely to seek to increase their effectiveness through exchanges of information, resources, and joint efforts with other organizations. Shared client groups may present a common pressure for unified effort and an integrated set of organizational responses to their specialized problems.

Organizations that serve different client systems may possess fewer potential resources for interchange than those that share similar client systems (Reid, 1969). Referral systems and coordination of financial and technical assistance may be sources of interdependence associated with common client systems. Little empirical research has investigated the importance of shared client groups.

Organizations with similar client groups may be more likely to be linked through their interrelated involvement with clients (Levine and White, 1961). Client groups may come to expect consistency and continuity in the services they receive from organizations that serve them. In this manner, output constituencies may exert a force toward interdependence on the part of organizations that provide them with services.

Decision-making properties

Decision-making properties describe the way authority is exercised in an organization. Comparative decision-making properties are those that refer to the differences in the authority structure of interacting organizations. Interorganizational linkages are manifested in decisions to allocate resources in terms of time, staff, and facilities, to a relationship. Similar decision-making structures may facilitate the sequence of decisions associated with participation in interorganizational relationships (Schermerhorn, 1975).

Decision-making is a fundamental aspect of interorganizational relationships (White, 1974b; Schermerhorn, 1975). Interaction between groups is a product of intra-organizational decision-making processes that support commitment and participation in linkages with outside groups. Douds and Rubenstein (1966) argued that structural differences between organizations or units are associated with low levels of interface communication that affects the kind of interdependence that can develop and be maintained.

The specific comparative decision-making properties are: autonomy, formalization, and decision-making context. The following subsections briefly identify each specific dimension and relate it to interdependence.

Formalization Formalization is the degree to which the norms of a social system are explicit (Price, 1972:107). Aiken and Hage (1968) refer to formalization as the codification of activities within an organization and the range of variability permitted within job classifications. Reidel (1970) reported that a high level of formalization, in terms of uniform work plans and schedules, kept resource managers responsive to their own agencies and hindered interagency working relationships.

A positive relationship between formalization and various related aspects of interdependence has been a consistent finding in interorganizational research (Aiken and Hage, 1968; Paulson, 1974; Molnar and Rogers, 1976). Differences in formalization may affect interdependence because agencies with highly formalized intra-organizational structures may have readily available mechanisms for managing relations with outside groups. Agencies that are not highly formalized may be reluctant to participate in situations where the rules and regulations of a counter organization are a major consideration in interaction or where their own internal decision process is not well-established in regard to interorganizational relationships.

Autonomy Autonomy is the degree to which a social system has the capacity for independent action. Autonomy has been frequently employed as a motive or inferred dynamic for explaining relations between organizations (White, 1974a). The amount and kind of control exerted on an organization by superordinate levels may have direct implications for the level and kind of linkages it maintains with outside groups. In addition, linkages with outside groups may be avoided because they further constrain a unit's capacity for independent action (Gouldner, 1959).

Dissimilar levels of autonomy among interacting groups may limit the kinds of relationships that can develop. The duration and amount of decision-making required for an organization with low autonomy may inhibit interaction with other groups that possess greater flexibility. An agency with high autonomy may avoid interdependence that would serve as a constraint on its independent action, particularly if the relationships would be partially structured by a third-party's rules and regulations. However, organizations with low autonomy also may be directed to seek and maintain relations with outside groups (Rogers and Molnar, 1975).

Decision-context The relationship of interacting groups to an over-arching authority structure influences the kinds of linkages that can occur (Warren, 1967). Elements that share a subordinate relationship to a common authority may be constrained to a predetermined pattern of relationship. In addition, relationships with groups outside the structure may be subject to review by the higher authority. The inclusiveness of a decision-making context refers to the extent to which a higher authority governs interaction between groups (Warren, 1967).

Two types of inclusive decision-making structures are the unitary and federative contexts (Warren, 1967). A unitary context is one where the units are deliberately organized for the accomplishment of inclusive goals. The top of the structure makes decisions and has final authority over the units. A federative structure is one where the units involved have their individual goals, but there is some formal organization for the accomplishment of inclusive goals.

Interdependence is more likely to develop among organizations sharing an inclusive decision-making structure. Common ties to a powerful third party are likely to encourage linkage between otherwise independent units. Membership in an inclusive structure also ensures duration and continuity to relationships that develop among participating groups. In addition, interdependence may present little or no threat to these groups because resource allocations are fixed at higher levels, and shared system goals increase potential returns for both units.

Decision-maker characteristics

Comparative decision-maker characteristics are those that refer to the personal attributes of those in boundary-spanning positions. Organizations that are linked by compatible boundary spanning personnel may be linked more effectively than those whose personnel are dissimilar in their personal characteristics. Similar decision-makers engage in more effective communication and problem-solving in interorganizational relationships (Walton, 1972).

Four comparative decision-maker characteristics are: tenure, education, professional activity, and age. These represent major dimensions of interpersonal comparison that have been discussed in the literature on interunit relations.

Tenure The comparative property of tenure refers to differences in the length of time administrators have held their current positions. Thomas et al. (1972) found newness to position to be positively related to two of the three interunit conflict dimensions they investigated, specifically, distrust and perceived overstatement of needs.

Though interdependence between organizations transcends relations between individual role incumbents, some linkages may depend on a familiarity with informal procedures and alternative lines of action. Differences in time in office may be associated with a lesser ability of boundary personnel to initiate and manage interdependence.

Education The comparative property of education refers to differences in the level of education achieved by individual administrators. Education is a central indicator of social class. Ogle (1972) found informal interaction among the resource managers he studied to be stratified by social class. Educational differences may affect informal relationships among administrators, an important aspect of interorganizational activity.

Educational differences also may affect the ability of boundary personnel to effectively represent their organizations. When activities are not well-defined, or when educational differences are correlated with differences in other personal dimensions, managing interdependence may be additionally difficult.

Professional activity The comparative property of professional activity refers to differences in the level of participation in occupationally-related voluntary associations. Aiken and Hage (1968) found professionalism to be related to organizational interdependence. Professionalism is associated with identification with a broader community of individuals who share similar occupational orientations and may facilitate the conduct of relations with outside groups.

Age The comparative property of age refers to differs in the chronological age of boundary personnel. Thomas et al. (1972) reported age to be negatively related to three aspects of interunit conflict. Differences in age may be associated with differences in occupational orientation and create communication barriers. Older individuals have often entered their occupations with lower levels of education, and relate to their current positions on the basis of experience and long-term organizational involvement. Younger individuals may have arrived at their current positions through educational attainment and have discrepant perspectives on purposes and methods of activity, particularly in those areas that are not well-defined. Similarity in the age of boundary personnel may facilitate the interorganizational process.

Methods

Sample and data collection

Previous interorganizational research has focused on relations among business organizations (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967), public agencies (Rogers, 1974a), voluntary associations (White, 1968), and relationships among mixed sets of combinations of the above (Hunt and Hunt, 1971). This study focuses on relations among public agencies involved in natural resource management.

Interviews were conducted with top administrators in 39 county offices of federal, state, and county agencies in five non-metropolitan Midwest counties. The counties were selected on the basis of the unique character of their natural resources and the congruence of their boundaries with SCS Resource Conservation and Development project and a State Regional Planning district.

The major criteria for selecting agencies for the study were:

(1) that an agency have at least county-wide responsibility, and

(2) that it be involved in managing natural resources or have programs that related to the use of natural resources. The twelve agencies were: Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS); Farmer's Home Administration (FHA); Soil Conservation Service (SCS); County Extension Service (CES); Fish and Game Enforcement (FGE); District Forester Unit (DFU); State Park Ranger (SPR); State Forest Administrative Unit (SFA); Fish management Biologist Unit (FMB); and Wildlife Biologist Unit (WBU). In each agency, the top administrator was interviewed.

Not every agency had a local unit in each of the five counties therefore, the number of units totaled 39. In instances where an agency had multi-county responsibilities, it was included in the county wnere its base of operations was located.

Formation of dyads The group of agencies in each of the five counties was defined as an organization set (Evan, 1965). Each organization set was combinatorially arranged to form all possible organizational dyads. A set of N organizations forms [(N(N-1)/2] dyads. Thus the 4, 9, 6, 10, and 10 organizations in each of the five study counties contributed 6, 36, 16, 45, and 45 dyads, respectively. From the total sample of 39 organizations 147 organizational dyads were defined.

The unit of analysis in this study is the dyad. A dyad A-B consists of the data for organization A followed by the data for organization B. Dyadic variables are derived from combined operations on both sets of variables.

Measurement

Interdependence indicators were computed by summing the reports of interaction in a relationship. Organization A's reports of interaction with B were added to B's reports of interaction with A, forming a measure of total interaction in a relationship. The three interdependence indicators are: information exchange, resource exchange, and joint programming. Means, standard deviations, and ranges for all variables are presented in Appendix A.

Information exchange Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently their organization provided information to each of the other agencies in the county. Weekly or more reports were coded 50; otherwise the actual number of times was recorded. The mutual reports of A providing information to B and B to A were summed to form an index of total information interdependence.

Resource exchange Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently their organization had loaned or provided resources, in terms of funds, facilities, or personnel, to each of the other agencies in the county. Weekly or more reports were 50; otherwise the actual number of times was recorded. Mutual reports were summed to form an index of total resource interdependence.

Joint programs The reports of organization A's joint programming with organization B and B's reports of programs with A were summed to form an index. Each joint program was scored 2, because reports from both units were summed.

This variable reflects a difficulty common to much sociometric research: intransitivity in reports of interaction. In this study, discrepant reports were assumed to be random and nonsystematic. Consequently, the sum of the number reported by both groups was utilized as an indicator.

The distribution on this variable was extremely skewed (i.e., 60.5 percent reported no joint programming). A few organizations specified their joint activities in great detail and were associated with high scores of 8 and 9. The relatively small sample size would exaggerate the effect of these extreme values in statistical analysis. As a result, these scores were considered to be outlying values that did not fairly represent the relationship. They were recorded to the value 5 to alleviate skewness in the distribution (5 was the next occurring actual value).

Organizational output Organizational output variables are those that represent whether or not dyads shared particular services. The set of indicators consists of a series of dummy variables representing whether a pair of agencies shared or did not share each individual service. Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not their organization offered any of a series of categories of services. The categories included: regulatory activities, cost-sharing, technical assistance, planning assistance, information assistance, financial assistance, and management-development activities (of land). If both agencies indicated involvement in an activity, a score of one was assigned; if one or neither was involved, a score of zero was assigned.

Output constituency Output constituency variables are those that reflect whether or not dyads shared particular client groups. Administrators were asked to indicate whether their agency served any of a series of client groups. The categories indcluded: farmers, private industry, recreational users, non-farm landowners, park-users, homeowners, and local agencies. If both organizations indicated that they served a particular client group, a score of 1 was assigned to the dyad. If only one or neither organization served the group, a score of 0 was assigned.

Autonomy Autonomy refers to the degree to which an organization is free to make decisions with respect to its own operations. Autonomy was measured by eight interview items reflecting the kind of decision-making that occurred in the organization. Each item was responded to in terms of a seven-level Likert response framework, "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree", coded 1-7. The items were examined for internal consistency in the sample of 39 individual organizations. The eight items demonstrated an internal consistency reliability of .81 (Cronbach, 1951).

A score was derived for each dyad by summing individual item differences across the eight items. Summing absolute differences across items is a dyadic measurement procedure recommended by Cronbach (1958).

Formalization Formalization refers to the degree to which rules and procedures used in decision-making occur in written form. Three items referred to the extent to which job descriptions, written personnel policies, and operating guidelines were detailed. Responses were coded 0-4, "does not exist" to "very detailed". The items demonstrated an internal consistency reliability of .79 on the individual sample of 39 agencies (Cronbach, 1951). Scores were derived for each dyad by summing the differences across individual items.

Decision-making context Warren (1967) introduced a typology of decision-making contexts based on the relative inclusiveness of the structure in which relations took place. The four types of context are: unitary, federative, coalitional, and social choice. The measure in this study contrasts the more inclusive unitary and federative contexts with the less inclusive coalitional and social choice contexts.

A unitary context for decision-making is one where units are organized for the deliberate achievement of the inclusive goals. Relationships among the several units of the Conservation Commission were defined as a unitary context for decision-making.

A federative context is one where individual units have their own goals, but there is some formal organization for the purpose of accomplishing inclusive goals. The Federal agencies in each study county were members of a Rural Development Committee that constitutes a formal interagency structure for decision-making. In addition, each of these agencies is tied to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, though they are separately administered.

Relationships in which both organizations were federal agencies or both were state agencies were defined as constituting an inclusive decision-making context. A dummy variable was developed by assigning a score of 1 to dyads of Federal-Federal agency relations, and State-agency relations, and a score of zero to all others.

Tenure Tenure refers to the administrator's length of time in his current position. The respondent's actual number of years of service were recorded. Those in position less than one year were assigned a score of 1. The score assigned each dyad represents the absolute value of the difference in tenure in current position.

Professional activity Professional activity was defined as the level of extraorganizational involvement in professional voluntary associations. The number of professional memberships the respondent reported were summed to form an index of professional activity. The dyad score represents the absolute value of the difference in level of professional activity.

Education Education refers to the level of formal schooling. Responses were coded 1-5, "high school" to "graduate degree". The dyad score represents the absolute value of the difference in level of education.

Age The dyad score represents the absolute value of the difference in chronological age of the top administrators.

Analysis

Pearson correlations were used to assess the relationships between the comparative variables and the interdependence measures. Partial regression coeffients were used to test for spurious relationships. The proportion of variance explained in each dependent variable by each independent variable set was determined by use of multiple regression analysis with full and reduced models.

Results

This section examines bivariate relationships between the comparative organizational variables and the three interdependence measures, assesses the independent effect of each variable, and reports the direct and incremental effects of each variable set.

Table 1 shows the correlations between comparative organizational variables and information exchange, resource exchange, and joint programs. Organizational output variables indicated whether or not organizations shared individual services. In general, organizations that offered common, or similar types of services, tended to have greater interdependence. Sharing services was most important for resource exchange, where the greatest correlations were demonstrated. Common cost-sharing, planning, financial, and management-development outputs were associated with resource exchange. (r=.45, r=.19, r=.41, and r=.32). Planning and financial assistance were associated with joint programming (r=.28 and r=.18).

Sharing common ouputs was generally not related to information exchange. An exception to the pattern of relationships was the technical assistance indicator, which was negatively related to information exchange (r=-.20). Apparently agencies that offered technical assistance operated in separate realms and did not pool their expertise.

The theoretical argument of Reid (1969) receives qualified support in these findings. Organizations with similar functions may be more interdependent because of similar resource needs. Similar activities and service concerns increase the likelihood that a common basis for interaction will be encountered. In addition, organizations that share similar services also may share similar goals. Their activities may more readily become interdependent because of the potential increase in mutual goal attainment that may be obtained through interrelated effort. The effect of output similarity, however, is limited to the more intensive forms of interdependence.

Output constituency variables indicated whether or not agencies shared individual client groups. Sharing client groups was not related to information exchange. Agencies sharing farmers, recreational users, and local agencies as their output constituencies had higher levels of resource exchange (r=.26, r=.17, and r=.23). Farmers, nonfarm landowners, and local agencies were output constiuencies associated with interdependence in the form of joint programming (r=.24, r=.21, and r=.30). Sharing client groups also appeared most important as a basis for the more intensive forms of interdependence. Following the general pattern of correlations, sharing specific types of client groups seems to be most important for determining resource interdependence, while sharing client groups in general seems to be most important for the development of the most structured form of interdependence considered here, joint programming.

Decision-making properties referred to differences in the intraorganizational authority structure of interacting groups. Formalization and autonomy differences were not associated any of the three interdependence indicators. Decision context, however, was an important correlate of interdependence among the agencies in this study. Shared ties to a common authority structure was strongly associated with three interdependence variables (r=.47, r=.32, and r=.50).

An important conclusion is that interdependence most frequently occurred among agencies that shared a common authority structure. A shared authority structure provides a context in which interdependence may be more readily legitimized, and in some cases, formally structured as part of the agencies' regular activities. Such interdependence may be encouraged and supported by higher administrative levels; it is also less likely to constitute a threat to each agency's activities or structure of resource allocations.

Though decision-making context was very important, the arguments for formalization and autonomy differences were not supported by the correlational analysis. A common authority structure appears to legitimize, support, and enforce a large part of the interdependence that occurred among the organizations in this study.

Decision-maker characterisitcs referred to the personal characteristics of boundary personnel. Differences in tenure in position, education, and age were not directly associated with interdependence. However, differences in the level of professional activity were associated with lower levels of interdependence in the form of information exchange and joint programming (r=-.21 and r=-.23). Previous research has shown that the level of professional activity in an organization is associated with more intensive involvements with outside groups (Aiken and Hage, 1968). Administrators with similar levels of professionalism appeared to facilitate involvment in interorganizational activity.

Step-wise forward regression analysis was employed to assess the independent effect of each comparative property variable. Variables were entered in sequential fashion according to step-wise selection procedures (Nie et al., 1975). Table 1 shows regression coefficients for equations that minimize the mean square residual for each dependent variable. Variables excluded from an equation increased the prediction error in later steps and were not included in the regression models presented here.

Information assistance emerged as a negative predictor of information exchange and joint programming (b=-.33, and b=-.37). Organizations that offered information assistance to the general public apparently did not provide these services to each other.

Dyads that offered cost-sharing and financial assistance tended to have higher levels of resource exchange (b=.26 and b=.19). These relationships were similar to those found in correlational analysis.

Several shared output constituency variables were predictors of interdependence. Agencies that shared homeowners tended to have lower levels of information exchange and joint programming (b=-.20 and b=-.24). Serving nonfarm landowners was negatively associated with resource exchange (b=-.38). Serving local agencies was a significant predictor of both information exchange and joint programming (b=.34 and b=.53). Sharing farmers as an output constituency was associated with higher levels of resource exchange (b=.32). Generally, the pattern of regression coefficients showed that sharing outputs and constituencies was associated with higher levels of interdependence, but that exceptions were notable for several specific types of services and client groups.

Among the decision-making properties, formalization differences emerged as a predictor of joint programming (b=.16), contrary to the earlier discussion. Decision-context was strongly related to all three types of interdependence, but was of lesser importance for resource exchange (b=.44, b=.25, and b=.47).

Some decision-maker characteristics were selected as predictors of information exchange, but not of resource exchange or joint programs. Education differences were negatively associated with information exchange (b=-.21), while age differences were positively related (b=.16). Age differences may introduce status considerations that order the interpersonal processes associated with less formal contacts between groups.

Overall, comparative organizational variables were least effective in explaining information exchange between groups (R^2=.38). This type of activity may be less dependent on the relative functions or target groups of interacting organizations, and more on situational or interpersonal conditions affecting boundary personnel. Common outputs and constituencies were most important for resource exchange (R^2=.51), while a broader range of comparative variables were found to be important for joint programming (R^2=.50).

To determine the independent effects of each variable set, full and reduced regression models were employed. All variables from each set were included in this analysis. The direct effect of a variable set is the proportion of explained variance (R^2) associated with each variable set acting alone. The increment of explained variance is the additional variance associated with that variable set after all other variable sets are in the model.

The increment to explained variance is tested by the following formula (Kerlinger, 1974):

$$F = \frac{(R^2\text{full} - R^2\text{reduced})/{}^{k}f - {}^{k}r)}{(1 - R^2\text{full})/(N - {}^{k}f - 1)}$$

Where R^2full represents the proportion of variance for the full regression model including the set under test, R^2reduced is the expained variance associated with the remaining three sets, N is the sample size, and ^kf and ^kr are the degrees of freedom associated with each model. A significant F-ratio indicates whether the set entered last explains a statistically significant proportion of the variance in the dependent variable.

Table 2 summarizes the direct and incremental effects of each comparative organizational output variable set. The direct effect of the organizational output variable set was significant for all three interdependence variables, but was greatest for resource exchange (R^2=.10, R^2=.39, and R^2=.11). However, organizational output variables added a singificant increment of explained variance only to resource exchange (R^2=.12).

The output constituency variable set did not significantly predict information exchange, but did have significant direct (R^2=.30 and R^2=.19), and incremental effects (R^2=.07 and R^2=.10) on resource exchange and joint programming.

Decision-making properties had significant direct and incremental effects on all three interdependence indicators. The decision-making properties had the largest direct effect on joint programs (R^2=.32), and the smallest incremental effect on resource exchange (R^2 = .05).

Finally, comparative decision-maker characteristics did not contribute directly or incrementally to explaining any of the three interdependence variables, though previous analysis had shown some variables to be individually important. The combined effect or total R^2, shown in Table 2,is slightly above the R^2 shown in Table 1 because all variables were included in these equations.

Summary

The analysis of comparative properties and interdependence proceeded at two levels: individual variables and variable sets. In regard to organizational outputs, the cost-sharing, planning, financial, and management-development assistance variables, each was positively correlated or predictive of at least one form of interdependence. Technical and information assistance were negative predictors of interdependence, outputs that apparently did not lend themselves to interorganizational effort.

Farmers, nonfarm landowners, and local agencies were shared output constituencies associated with interdependence. Agencies that shared homeowners as a client group tended to have lower levels of interdependence. Serving nonfarm landowners was negatively related to resource exchange, but positively related to joint programming.

An inclusive decision context was consistently associated with greater interdependence. Formalization differences were associated with joint programming. Comparative levels of professional activity, education, and age were all found to influence interdependence.

The findings for variable sets show that information exchange was significantly explained by organizational output and decision-making comparative properties, though only the decision-making properties had statistically significant incremental effects. Organizational output, output constituency, and decision-making properties all had significant direct effects on resource exchange and joint programming. In addition, each had significant incremental effects in explaining at least one type of interdependence. The set of decision-maker variables did not have significant direct nor incremental effects on any interdependence variable.

Conclusion

Most previous research on interorganizational relations has focused on intra-organizational properties as determinants of the level and kind of linkage an organization maintains with outside groups. In this study, we examined the comparative properties of interacting organizations as determinants of the nature of relations between them.

This study differed from many others because of its focus on interorganizational dyads, and not on individual organizations. It explored properties derived from comparisons of the characteristics of interacting groups and their consequences for ongoing relationships. One objective of this paper, therefore, was to expand the range of structural variables used to explain interdependence by examining the impact of similarities and differences on interorganizational relationships.

Similarities and differences were found to be important sets of variables for explaining interdependence. The comparative properties of organizations provide a context for relationships to occur and often serve as forces that impell or impede interaction. Comparative properties accounted for nearly half the variance of the three interdependence measures included in the study.

Interorganizational studies focus not only on the amount and kind of linkage that develops between groups, but also where these linkages are most likely to occur. Future research must include comparative properties in addition to previously studied variables in developing models for understanding and predicting interdependence in interorganizational relationships.

Table 1. Zero-order correlations and Standardized Regression Coefficients Between Comparative Organizational Variables and Interdependence Indicators.

Comparative Organizational Variables	Interdependence					
	Information Exchange		Resource Exchange		Joint Programs	
	r	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta
Organizational output						
Regulatory activity	.03	--	.02	--	.00	--
Cost-sharing assistance	.14	.13	.45*	.26**	.14	.07
Technical assistance	-.20*	-.09	-.14	-.16	.06	--
Planning assistance	.01	--	.19*	--	.28*	.17
Information assistance	-.15	-.33*	.07	--	.09	-.37**
Financial assistance	.12	--	.41**	.19*	.18*	--
Management-development	.07	--	.32**	.09	.15	.12
Output constituency						
Farmers	.04	--	.26*	.32*	.24*	-.18
Private Industry	-.13	--	-.08	--	.12	-.17
Recreational users	-.01	--	.17*	--	.15	.18
Nonfarm landowners	-.13	--	-.12	-.38**	.21*	.43**
Park-users	.08	--	-.04	--	.00	--
Homeowners	-.15	-.20*	-.10	--	.04	-.24*
Local agencies	.03	.34**	.23*	.18	.30	.53**
Decision-making properties						
Autonomy	.00	--	.14	.08	.01	--
Formalization	-.02	.10	-.04	--	.12	.16*
Decision context	.47**	.44**	.32**	.25**	.50**	.47**
Decision-maker characteristics						
Tenure	-.02	--	.09	--	.05	--
Professional activity	-.21*	.13	-.15	--	-.23*	-.09
Education	-.01	-.21*	.02	--	.05	--
Age	.10	.16*	.03	--	.12	.08
	R^2= .38**		R^2= .51**		R^2= .50**	
	F = 8.33		F = 15.78		F = 9.27	
	d.f.= 10/135		d.f.= 9/136		d.f.=14/131	

* = $p < .05$
** = $p < .01$

Table 2. Proportion of Interdependence Variance Explained by Each Set of Comparative Organizational Variables: Direct and Incremental Effects.

Comparative Organizational Variable Set	Interdependence					
	Information Exchange		Resource Exchange		Joint Programs	
	Direct	Increment	Direct	Increment	Direct	Increment
Organizational output	.10*	.07	.39*	.12**	.11**	.06
Output constituency	.08	.07	.30**	.07*	.19**	.10**
Decision-making properties	.23**	.07**	.14**	.05**	.32**	.17**
Decision-maker characteristics	.06	.04	.03	.01	.06	.02
Combined effect	R^2 = .41** F = 4.10 d.f. = 21/124		R^2 = .52** F = 6.95 d.f. = 21/124		R^2 = .50** F = 6.01 d.f. = 21/124	

* = $p < .05$
** = $p < .01$

Appendix. Means, standard deviations, and ranges for individual dependent and independent variables

Variables	Mean	Standard deviation	Range
Interdependence			
Joint programs	.911	1.400	0 - 6
Resource exchange	6.616	18.890	0 - 100
Information exchange	15.500	25.148	0 - 100
Organizational output			
Regulatory activity	.137	.345	0 - 1
Cost-sharing assistance	.041	.199	0 - 1
Technical assistance	.288	.454	0 - 1
Planning assistance	.260	.440	0 - 1
Information assistance	.390	.489	0 - 1
Financial assistance	.021	.142	0 - 1
Management-development	.130	.345	0 - 1
Output constituency			
Farmers	.226	.420	0 - 1
Private Industry	178	.384	0 - 1
Recreational users	.137	.345	0 - 1
Nonfarm landowners	.164	.372	0 - 1
Park-users	.062	.241	0 - 1
Homeowners	.102	.305	0 - 1
Local agencies	.295	.457	0 - 1
Decision-making properties			
Autonomy	12.678	4.859	1 - 27
Formalization	3.101	1.569	0 - 8
Decision context	.274	.448	0 - 1
Decision-maker characteristics			
Tenure	5.562	5.243	0 - 27
Professional activity	1.267	1.687	0 - 8
Education	1.206	1.069	0 - 4
Age	11.226	8.819	0 - 36

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PROGRAM

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENTISTS

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FEBRUARY 6-9, 1977

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

February 6, 1977
Sunday

1:00 - S-114 Technical Committee Meeting: Virginia Suite
7:30 - S-120 Technical Committee Meeting: Arkansas Suite

February 7, 1977

Monday A.M. 8:30-9:40

Session 1

SPECIAL PANEL FORECASTING EDUCATION NEEDS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton-Biltmore

Presiding: John Harris, Alabama A & M University

8:30 - OPENING REMARKS BY RURAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION CHAIRMAN: H. Max Miller, University of Georgia.

SOCIAL FORECASTING FOR THE SUN BELT: STATE OF THE ART. Everett Lee, University of Georgia.

FORECASTING EDUCATION NEEDS FOR SOUTHERN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: STATE OF THE ART. Gerald Wheelock, Alabama A & M University.

SOUTHERN RURAL YOUTH ASPIRATIONS RESEARCH AS SOCIAL FORECASTING: ASSESSMENT OF METHODS AND SUBSTANCE. George Ohlendorf, Louisiana State University.

OCCUPATIONAL MATRIX FORECASTING FOR SOUTHERN MANPOWER. David Houston, University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff.

Discussant: John Dunkelberger, Auburn University.

Organizer: Gerald Wheelock, Alabama A & M University.

Monday A.M. 9:45-10:55

Session 2

QUALITY OF LIFE

Carolina Suite

Presiding: A. Lee Coleman, University of Georgia.

9:45 - MEASURING THE INTENSITY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS AMONG ADULTS AND ITS RELATION TO HOUSEHOLD QUALITY OF LIFE. Elmira O. Gilbert, John E. Dunkelberger and Calvin L. Vanlandingham, Auburn University.

A COMPARISON OF CITIZENRY AND LEADERS ON PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS. Sally R. Purohit and Howard A. Clonts, Auburn University.

DIFFERENTIAL PERCEPTION OF CHANGE BY LIFE-CYCLE STAGES: A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE. Nicholas A. Holt, Hanns G. Pieper and H. Max Miller, University of Georgia.

Discussants: Charles Cleland, University of Tennessee, and Edward L. McClean, Clemson University.

Session 3

EDUCATION

Georgia Suite

Presiding: George W. Ohlendorf, Louisiana State University.

9:45 - SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND STUDENT ATTRITION. William W. Falk and Allen Comfort, Louisiana State University.

RECENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AMONG THE EASTERN CHEROKEES. Laurence French, Western Carolina University.

EFFECT OF FARM BACKGROUND ON ATTITUDES OF AGRICULTURAL STUDENTS AT CLEMSON UNIVERSITY. Nancy J. Pettigrew and Virlyn A. Boyd, Clemson University.

Discussants: Harvey G. Neufeldt, Tennessee Technological University. Maurice E. Voland, North Carolina State University.

Monday A.M. 11:00-12:00

Session 4

OCCUPATION

Carolina Suite

Presiding: Carlton Ray Sollie, Mississippi State University.

11:00 - FARM ENTERPRISES AND OFF-FARM WORK OF PART-TIME AND FULL-TIME FARMERS. C. Milton Coughenour, University of Kentucky.

AN ASSESSMENT OF RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS: THE CASE OF GADSDEN COUNTY, FLORIDA. Peter K. Korsching and Stephen G. Sapp, University of Florida.

AFFLUENCE, EQUALITY, AND POVERTY IN NON-METROPOLITAN AMERICA, 1950-1970. E. M. Beck, University of Georgia.

Discussant: Wolfgang Frese, Mississippi State University.

Session 5

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Georgia Suite

Presiding: H. Wayne Hogan, Tennessee Technological University.

11:00 - ALIENATION AND POVERTY. M. E. Walker, Jr. and Y. Beauford, Fort Valley State College, Georgia.

DENIAL AND LABELING OF THE MENTAL DEVIANT BY SOUTHERN FUNDAMENTALIST. H. Eugene Hodges, University of Alabama in Huntsville.

SOME CORRELATES OF RESPONSES TO SYMBOLIC CULTURE. H. Wayne Hogan, Tennessee Technological University.

Discussant: Glenn C. McCann, North Carolina State University.

Monday P.M. 1:15-2:45

Session 6

SPECIAL PANEL
RURAL LAND REFORM

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Presiding: Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University.

1:15 - AGRARIAN REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA: THE PANAMANIAN EXPERIENCE WITH "ASENTAMIENIOS CAMPESINOS." Maritza Young de Moreno and Lisandro Perez, Louisiana State University.

THE DECLINE IN BLACK ON RURAL LAND: SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS. Leo McGee, Tennessee Technological University.

LAND REFORM AS AN ANTI-POVERTY STRATEGY: EXPERIENCE IN RURAL SOUTH. Lester Salamon, Duke University.

Discussant: Lisandro Perez, Louisiana State University.

Organizer: Harsha N. Mookherjee, Tennessee Technological University.

Monday P.M. 3:00-4:30

Session 7

DEMOGRAPHY

Carolina Suite

Presiding: S. Mitra, Emory University.

3:00 - A COMMENT ON THE UNIVERSAL VALIDITY OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION THEORY MODEL. Dennis L. Peck, East Texas State University, and Philip Kuhn, Washington State University.

A PROPOSITIONAL INVENTORY SUPPORTING A DERIVED MODEL OF DIFFUSION AND ADOPTION SPECIFIC TO VASECTOMY AS A MEANS OF BIRTH CONTROL. Lucy Springer, Louisiana State University.

HOMEOWNERSHIP, MIGRATION, AND SEGREGATION. Edward E. Cahill, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga.

NOMADIC AMERICANS: A CONCERN FOR RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS? Lawrence W. Drabick, North Carolina State University.

Discussants: Mohammed El Attar, Mississippi State University, and Prakasn C. Sharma, Rider College.

Session 8

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Georgia Suite

Presiding: Harold L. Nix, University of Georgia.

3:00 - RURAL DEVELOPMENT: RECONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT. H. Max Miller, University of Georgia.

A CONVERGENCE OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY FOR COMMUNITY RESEARCH. Edward L. McClean, Clemson University.

AN APPLICATION OF THE RECONNAISSANCE METHOD IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A SYNTHESIS OF FUNCTIONS. Dennis A. Evans, University of Georgia.

A DUAL RESEARCH ORIENTATION: CRUCIAL FOR AN EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. Roger Hecht, East Tennessee State University.

DEFINITIONS OF HOUSING SITUATIONS: OUTSIDERS VERSUS INSIDERS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES. Gary M. Stokeley and Forrest A. Deseran, Louisiana State University.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA TITLE V PROGRAM IN PERSPECTIVE: THREE MODELS OF PURPOSIVE CHANGE. Nelson L. Jacob, Stephen C. Lilley and Eddie D. Wynn, Clemson University.

Discussant: C. Milton Coughenour, University of Kentucky.

Session 9

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Presiding: James H. Copp, Texas A & M University.

7:30 - POLICY PROCESSES AND APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE: THE MANY-FACETED CASE OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY. Arthur S. Wilke, Auburn University.

TOWARD A POLICY RELEVANT RURAL SOCIOLOGY: A RUDIMENTARY FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION RESEARCH. Michael K. Miller, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

PERCEPTION AND USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL DATA IN POLICY DECISIONS: THE CASE OF THE KENTUCKY BOTTLE BILL. Rabel J. Burdge, University of Illinois, and Paul D. Warner, University of Kentucky.

HUMAN SURVIVAL ON THE PLANET EARTH: CAN SOCIOLOGY HELP? Maurice E. Voland, North Carolina State University.

Discussants: E. M. Beck, University of Georgia, and Raj P. Moman, Auburn University.

Monday Night 8:45

Session 10

SPECIAL PANEL PROS AND CONS OF THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Moderator: Virginia P. Steelman, Louisiana State University.

Panel Members:
Arthur G. Cosby, Texas A & M University
George W. Ohlendorf, Louisiana State University
Nelson L. Jocob, Clemson University
Charles Cleland, University of Tennessee

Organizers: H. Max Miller, University of Georgia, and Virginia P. Steelman, Louisiana State University.

February 8, 1977

Tuesday A.M. 8:30-9:45

Session 11

STATUS ATTAINMENT I

Carolina Suite

Presiding: William W. Falk, Louisiana State University.

8:30 - SOCIAL ORIGIN AND ATTITUDINAL PERCEPTIONS IN THE DYNAMICS OF CAREER ACHIEVEMENT ATTITUDES. Frank Howell, Wolfgand Frese and Carlton Ray Sollie, Mississippi State University.

SOCIAL ORIGINS AS A FACTOR OF CAREER CHOICE. Leola Adams, South Carolina State College, and Carol Bocan, Winthrop College.

CAREER CONTINGENCIES AND THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT PROCESS. Kevin B. Smith and George W. Ohlendorf, Louisiana State University.

Discussant: Arthur G. Cosby, Texas A & M University.

Session 12

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ENVIRONMENTAL AND RECREATION

Georgia Suite

Presiding: Ram N. Singh, Marshall University.

8:30 - AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED FOREST INCENDIARISTS. Andrew W. Baird and Michael L. Lightsey, Mississippi State University.

LEISURE PATTERNS OF RESIDENTS FROM LOW-INCOME COUNTIES IN THE RURAL SOUTH. Virginia P. Steelman and Thomas K. Pinhey, Louisiana State University.

FACTORS INFLUENCING FEE-FOR-USE IN OUT-DOOR RECREATION: A PROPOSAL MODEL AND PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT. Thomas K. Pinhey, Michael D. Grimes and Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University.

Discussant: Gary Jarrett, Marshall University.

Tuesday A.M. 9:50-10:50

Session 13

EVALUATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Carolina Suite

Presiding: H. Max Miller, University of Georgia.

9:50 - AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM UPON ATTITUDES TOWARD LAND USE PLANNING. Diana Danforth and Donald E. Voth, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville.

THE PROCESS OF EVALUATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT. G. Richard Wetherill, Texas A & M University.

SOME PROBLEMS OF EVALUATION AND RELATED RESEARCH IN RURAL ALCOHOLISM PROGRAMS: A CASE STUDY. J. Mark Watson, Tennessee Technological University.

Discussant: John V. D. Saunders, Mississippi State University.

Session 14

AGING

Georgia Suite

Presiding: Virginia P. Steelman, Louisiana State University.

9:50 - RESIDENCE AS A FACTOR IN LONGEVITY: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SEX, RACE, AND MARITAL STATUS AMONG RURAL AND URBAN AGED LOUISIANIANS, 1962-1974. Yui-Huen Kwan and Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University.

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIALS AMONG THE AGED POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL PLANNING. E. Keith Bramlett and Hanns G. Pieper, University of Georgia.

COSMOPOLITAN LIFE-STYLE AS A FACTOR IN THE ADJUSTMENT TO AGING IN RURAL AREAS. John C. Belcher, University of Georgia.

Discussant: Richard G. Dumont, Tennessee Technological University.

11:00 - PLENARY SESSION

Tuesday P.M. 1:15-2:45

Session 15

SPECIAL SESSION
KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Guest Speaker: Fredrick L. Bates, University of Georgia.

1:15 - INTRODUCING THE SPEAKER. H. Max Miller, University of Georgia.

FOLK MODELS AND SCIENTIFIC MODELS OF COMMUNITY AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT. Fredrick L. Bates, University of Georgia.

Tuesday P.M. 3:00-4:30

Session 16

RURAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEEDS PROJECTION THROUGH CITIZENS PARTICIPATION

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Presiding: Gerald Wheelock, Alabama A & M University.

3:00 - MODELS OF SOCIAL CHANGE APPLIED TO EDUCATION PLANNING. James Wall, Mississippi State University.

CASE STUDIES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION PLANNING: TENNESSEE-TOMBIGBEE WATERWAY. John Zippert, Minority Peoples Council, Epes, Alabama.

JEFFERSON AND ADAMS COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. Lamar Braxton, Community Action Program, Natchez, Mississippi.

RURAL FUTURES DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES. Ray E. Jonegeward, Northwest Regional Education Laboratory, Portland, Oregon.

Discussants: William C. Berryman, Alabama State Department of Education; and Edward O. Moe, U.S.D.A.

Organizer: Gerald Wheelock, Alabama A & M University.

Tuesday Night 7:30-8:00

Business Meeting

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Session 17

SPECIAL SESSION

8:00 - RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE RURAL CRISIS: CONTEMPORARY PROFESSIONAL ISSUES.

Georgian Ballroom, Sheraton

Organizer: Kenneth P. Wilkinson, Pennsylvania State University.

Wednesday A.M. 8:45-10:15

Session 18

STATUS ATTAINMENT II

Carolina Suite

Presiding: Arthur G. Cosby, Texas A & M University.

8:45 - ATTRACTION OF YOUTH TO THE PROFESSIONS: THE PROCESS OF GOAL IDENTIFICATION. Carol D. Payne, and John E. Dunkelberger, Auburn University.

PERCEPTIONS OF BARRIERS TO OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT AMONG LOW-INCOME SOUTHERN YOUTH. Larry D. Hall, Mary Hardin Baylor College, Texas.

MEXICAN AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT: A CROSS-ETHNIC COMPARISON. Kimball P. Marshall, University of South Alabama.

MOBILITY-INCLINATION: TOWARD THE CLARIFICATION OF A CONCEPT. Carlton Ray Sollie and Frank Howell, Mississippi State University.

Discussant: James H. Copp, Texas A & M University.

Session 19

POT POURRI

Georgia Suite

Presiding: Richard D. Diemer, Tennessee Technological University.

8:45 - A CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CIGARETTE SMOKING AMONG RURAL YOUTH. Saundra M. Hunter, Louisiana State University.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCAL POLICE: A REASSESSMENT OF THE RACIAL VARIABLE. Charles W. Peek and George D. Lowe, Texas Tech University, and Jon P. Alston, Texas A & M University.

FAULTY INFORMATION AND MISINFORMATION: BASIC PROBLEMS FOR COMMUNITY CORRECTION AGENCIES. David B. Miller, Marshall University.

COMPARATIVE PROPERTIES AND INTERDEPENDENCE IN INTERORGANIZATIONAL DYADS. Joseph J. Molnar, Auburn University.

Open Discussion

Wednesday A.M. 10:30-11:45

Session 20

SOCIAL CHANGE

Carolina Suite

Presiding: John Belcher, University of Georgia.

10:30 - TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNISM: A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE CONCEPTS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR USE IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH. Satish Sharma, University of Northern Iowa.

HETEROPHILY AND COMMUNICATION INTEGRATION IN RURAL INDIAN VILLAGE. Dilip Bhomik, Fisk University.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN A RURAL AREA. Jim Pugh, East Tennessee State University.

Discussant: Fred R. Crawford, Emory University.

Session 21

SPECIAL PANEL
DELIVERY OF RURAL HEALTH CARE SERVICES

Georgia Suite

Organizer: R. David Mustian, North Carolina State University.